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THE

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1885.

ART. I.—THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

MEXICO, called by the Aztecs *Mexitli*, and by the Spaniards *Estados Unidos de Mexico*, extends from the Gulf of Mexico on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west, and from the southern boundary of our own country—latitude 33° north, to the fifteenth parallel, where it abuts on the Central American States. Its coast line on the Pacific, reckoning both sides of the Gulf of California, is over 4,000 miles, and on the Gulf of Mexico 1,600 miles. The total superficial area is about 763,804 square miles. Its population in 1880 was 9,577,279.

Geologically, Mexico is a vast table-land of comparatively recent upheaval. Most of the so-called Cordilleras are merely *cumbres*, or escarpments of this plateau, and which rise only at intervals above its mean level. The principal central cross ridge of mountains culminates in the snow-clad cones of Popocatepetl (17,853 feet high) and Iztaccihuatl (15,795). To the east of these is Citlaltepetl, or the Peak of Orizaba, rising to the altitude of 17,176 feet. Formerly a region of tremendous igneous activity, Mexico's volcanoes are now dying out. Earthquakes are infrequent and rarely destructive, being rather *temblores*, or tremblings, than *terremotos*, or shakings. Electric storms and water-spouts seldom occur, except in certain localities on the coast. The dry season comprises the months from June to September inclusive, and the rainy season extends over most of the remainder of the year. The rain-fall is heaviest at an elevation of from 3,000 to 8,000 feet. The rivers are few, flow mainly in deeply cut beds, and are unnavigable. The

diminished size of the Anahuac and other lakes shows a process of gradual desiccation, probably due to the destruction of upland forests by European settlers.

The Mexican table-land, consisting chiefly of metamorphic formations, is remarkable for the abundance and variety of metalliferous ores, and particularly those of copper, silver, and gold. In the period between 1821 and 1880 it yielded no less than $950,000,000 in silver and gold. Magnetic iron ore, tin, sulphur, platinum, cinnabar, bismuth, and other metals, are also found in profusion. Three distinct climatic regions invest this section of the American continent with peculiar interest. Their limits are not sharply defined, and depend wholly upon altitude. From the sea-level to a height of 3,000 feet on the scarps and terraces of the central plateaus is the first climatic zone, known as the *tierras calientes*, or "hot lands," of which the mean temperature is from 77 to 82 degrees Fahrenheit. The unhealthiness of this section, especially in the prevalence of yellow fever and the black vomit, is somewhat compensated by the presence of magnificent tropical vegetation, virgin forests of valuable timbers and dye-woods, and endless varieties of medicinal and useful plants. The *tierras templadas*, or "temperate lands," comprise all the higher terraces and central plateaus between the altitudes of 3,000 and 8,000 feet, with a mean temperature of from 62 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit. Its climate is one of the very finest on the globe, and, together with the manifold beauties of the country, makes it an earthly paradise. The *tierras frias*, or "cold lands," embrace all the highlands from 8,000 feet upward, where, on the glittering crests of the sky-piercing mountains, the snow and ice are perpetual.

The foreign commerce of Mexico is of considerable importance. The "Statesman's Year Book"* for 1885 states that "the total imports of Mexico in the year 1876 (the last for which detailed official returns are published) were of the estimated value of $28,485,000, or £5,697,000, and the value of the exports, $25,435,000, or £5,087,000. It is officially stated that the imports of 1882 exceeded £6,000,000, the average total of imports and exports on recent years being £12,000,000." "In 1882–83 the total value of the exports was £8,360,000, including

* New York: Macmillan & Co.

£3,412,753 of the precious metals." About one third of the trade of Mexico is with the United States. That the commerce of the country will shortly attain much greater proportions than it has hitherto assumed is, to say the least, exceedingly probable.

In addition to numerous indigenous plants, Mexico has acquired those which have their native habitat in Europe; also, some of Asiatic growth; and it probably now has the richest economic flora of any country on the globe. On the coast, and up to a height of 5,000 feet, cocoa-nuts, cacao, vanilla, cotton, cloves, nutmegs, peppers, and the other spices of commerce are produced, besides all the fruits of tropical countries, east and west. From about 4,000 feet upward begins the cultivation of the cereals of the Old World, the oleaginous plants, and garden vegetables, with grapes, and every kind of European fruit. The mulberry-tree is naturalized in districts between 3,000 and 6,000 feet above the sea. Humboldt, at the beginning of the century, estimated the value of field products in Mexico to be nearly four times that of its mines. Such is its diversity of climates that there is scarcely a plant that grows, or a fruit that ripens, or a grain that matures its seed, that may not find a congenial home within the soil and climate of Mexico.

The industrial possibilities of the republic are almost without limits. Her flora comprises more than ten thousand known species, many of them of the rarest beauty and the richest odors! She has all the useful timber trees of the North, and nearly all the precious woods of the South. Pastures are abundant and nutritious, and afford sustenance to countless herds of cattle and horses and flocks of sheep. The large estates intended for agriculture are known as *haciendas de labor;* those for cattle raising as *haciendas de ganado.* The owners of both classes are principally Creoles and Mestizoes, and they constitute the most independent order in society. The herdsmen of the cattle and horse-breeding estates are among the boldest and most skillful riders in the world, and, when properly officered, make efficient irregular cavalry.

In 1876, according to the great government report of Mexico—*Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana*—there were more than 5,700 haciendas and 13,800 ranchos within its territory. The value of landed property, based simply on its valuation

for taxes, was $176,397,300, without taking into account streams, grazing lands, orchards, and other rural property. Its real value in 1883 was estimated at $3,549,060,000. The estimated value of its agricultural productions in 1880 was $177,451,986. In the year ending March 31, 1880, coffee to the value of $1,490,171 was exported to the United States. Cotton, like maize, is indigenous to the land, and was used for clothing long before the Spaniards saw the continent. Breastplates of cotton impervious to Indian arrows were adopted by the Spanish conquerors. The 25,177,760 kilograms raised in 1880 is not enough for home consumption. *Henequen*, or hemp, is another product, of which bales to the value of $2,729,556 were exported in 1882. The *tierras calientes* are specially adapted to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, of which the yield in 1880 was valued at $8,716,000; and of tobacco, of which the production in 1880 was valued at about $2,000,000.

But it is to her mines that Mexico is most largely indebted for her attractions and her miseries. An authority on mines and mining says, that "a line drawn from the capital to Guanajuato, and thence northward to the south-western point of Chihuahua, and southward to Oaxaca, thus cutting the main axis of upheaval at an angle of 45 degrees, will intersect probably the richest known argentiferous region in the whole world. The ancient Toltecs and Aztecs obtained gold and silver, not only by washing the sands of mountain torrents and coast streams, but by sinking shafts and galleries. The amount of these precious metals wrung from Montezuma and sent to Spain is estimated at $7,000,000. Up to 1884 the total product of Mexican mines was nearly four billions of dollars. Alex. D. Anderson, an American statistician, basing his estimates on data supplied by Humboldt, and the official reports of Great Britain and the United States, reckons the entire gold and silver product of the world, for three centuries, at $13,111,825,885, and that New Spain (including California and the South-western Territories) supplied $4,888,512,605, or 37 per cent. of the whole. The mineral wealth of the Mexican plateau is practically inexhaustible. The total coinage of Mexican mints up to 1885 was not less than $3,195,694,386. Lumps of native gold, *pepitas* (nuggets), weighing from five to six pounds, have been found in Pimeria Alta, under the 31st

degree of north latitude. Among the ancient Aztecs the Spaniards found great quantities of ornaments and works in gold, among which was a golden disk the size of a cart-wheel. Many of these were sent to Spain as presents from the *conquistadores* to royalty.

Rubies are discovered in Durango, diamonds in Guerrero, topazes in San Luis Potosi, emeralds in Mexico, garnets, opals, agates, carnelians, etc., in other States. Marble, granite, obsidian, copperas, coals, and mineral oils also enrich different parts of the country.

Entering the Republic of Mexico from the north by the Mexican Central Railroad, the traveler leaves El Paso, a thriving Texas town in which four different railway lines concentrate, crosses the Rio Grande, which is here fordable, except after heavy rain-falls, and is the boundary line between the two republics, and enters the town of El Paso del Norte. The latter is as thoroughly Mexican as the former is thoroughly American, and contains about 5,000 inhabitants. Adobe houses, *acequias*, or irrigating canals, and vineyards attract notice as the Pullman cars pass through. A journey of 225 miles southward, through a region of desolate sand-hills, and next through widely extended grazing grounds, is ended at Chihuahua (Chee-wah-wah), the capital of the State bearing the same name. The 18,000 inhabitants are domiciled for the most part in one-storied thick-walled houses, having grated windows, open courts, and rooms from twelve to eighteen feet high. The climate is said to be delightful and salubrious, the temperature rarely being over 70 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade. Epidemics and fevers are unknown. Healthy appetite is satisfied at a freight-car restaurant on a side track. Hotels are excellent, but not often utilized, except by those who may be interested in the fabulously rich mines at Santa Rosalia, six miles away, or in the charming haciendas of the neighborhood. The monument to the patriot-priest Hidalgo commands brief but reverential attention.

Resuming movement toward the capital of the nation, the eye rests on much that is strange and unexpected in the passage over the sterile and forbidding plateau which covers large parts of the States of Chihuahua, Durango, and Zacatecas. From an altitude of 3,815 feet above the sea-level at Paso del

Norte, the track rises to one of 8,038 feet at Zacatecas; then declines to 5,761 at Salamanca, and rests at the height of 7,469 in the city of Mexico. Railroad life along this route is a series of ups and downs. For a distance of about three hundred miles the steam-horse must draw the water for his own consumption and that of the passengers. Yet, notwithstanding the destitution of fuel and water, the vicinity of rich mines has created prosperous towns along the route. Near Lerdo, where the train pauses for supper, is a region so singularly adapted to the culture of cotton that the plants only need to be renewed once in four or five years.

Railroad engineering has performed some noteworthy feats in the construction of this Mexican central thoroughfare. In a distance of eighteen miles north of Zacatecas, it has given no less than twelve sharp turns to the track, each of which is as trying to nerves as the celebrated Horse-shoe Bend on the Pennsylvania Central. The golden wealth drawn from the bosom of the Sierra Madre Mountains affords the principal incomes of the 60,000 or 70,000 people in Zacatecas. They alone, of all the Mexicans, enjoy this auriferous support. The rest largely depend on argentiferous supplies, which are so abundant that the railroad is ballasted with silver ore that would pay for smelting if immense quantities of better quality were not quite as accessible.

Aguas Calientes (*Hot Waters*) is the stopping place for dinner on the second day's travel, and is the capital of a small State bearing the same designation. Agriculture rather than mining is the main-stay of this city of 35,000 people. Famous for its thermal springs, which surround the place, and at one point are united in a stream about four feet wide and two or three deep, that flows in a canal of masonry under the railroad, and that furnishes washing facilities for many families at a time, it is no less well supplied with factories, schools, and colleges. Bishop Harris and Mr. J. M. Phillips, on evangelistic ends intent, saw (January, 1885) in this pleasant center a promising field for missionary labor. From it to Tampico, on the Gulf of Mexico, a railway is soon to be completed. Another finished railroad, passing through the city of Guadalajara, a spot prophetic of future evangelical conquests, already connects it with San Blas, on the Pacific coast.

At Leon, in the State of Guanajuato, are many factories, chiefly of leather, and a market for an extensive agricultural district. Between it and Silao, the next large town, the eye looks in vain for signs of extensive cultivation. A branch line, fourteen miles long, connects Silao with the famous city of Guanajuato, which contains about 65,000 inhabitants, among whom are many aristocratic families of Castilian descent. North-east of the city is the wonderful mine of Valenciana, which has yielded over $800,000,000. South of Silao the road passes through the Baxio region, "so celebrated in Mexico, both as the seat of the great agricultural riches of the country and the scene of the most cruel ravages of the civil war. The *haciendas*, loop-holed and battlemented, are perfect fortresses, and impart a lively idea of the lately distracted condition of the country. Queretaro, capital of the State bearing the same name, with its 48,000 inhabitants, has the reputation of being the loveliest city in the land outside the valley of Mexico. Nature, aided by the magnificent aqueduct built by the Marquis de Valero del Aguila, at his own cost, has done marvels for it. Bishop Gilbert Haven, who visited it in 1872, wrote:

> The city ever allures us on. Its towers and domes glisten in the dying light, half-hidden among abundant foliage. The hollow of the hills looks small from this height, and the city seems embossed on the bottom of a bowl of radiant green. A farther descent brings the aqueduct to view—the stateliest Roman that is extant in America; and there is no grander in Italy, nor one so grand. The valley lies about you full of verdure; never did any valley look lovelier. Hundreds of acres of wheat and barley and lucern, greenest of the green, seem in a race for superiority in color, while the trees are not behind in beauty. Flowers of richest hue bloom in the gardens, and the city stands forth, with its glittering towers and domes, a spectacle long to be remembered. It would be hard to find the equal in beauty of this combination of high, bold cliffs, ranges of hills, velvet meadows, and stately churches.*

Cotton factories, whose operatives are native Indians, largely contribute to the prosperity of Queretaro. Here Maximilian was captured, and here, in company with Miramon and Mejia, was subsequently shot. Between it and the city of Mexico is a section abounding in memories of Chichimec, Toltec, and Aztec tribes, whom the glittering volcanoes Popocatepetl

* "Our Next-door Neighbor," pp. 283, 284.

and Iztaccihuatl, that keep watch and ward over the city of Montezuma, saw flourish and decay, and ultimately pass under the power of iron-handed strangers, whose hearts knew no compassion, and whose priests gave no instruction in the true way to peace and rest. Twelve hundred and twenty-five miles from El Paso, and in the heart of the national capital, the traveler finds himself among hack-stands, street railroads, hotels, restaurants, banks, plazas, and paseos; churches, museums, and libraries, modern bazaars, and instructive antiquities; the old and the new blending in a thousand interesting phases that excite curiosity and impart delight.

The history of this unique and extraordinary country and people, with its singular mosaic of aborigines, starred and *bizarred* by Caucasian accretions, is one of unfailing interest. Mexico is the name given to the territory occupied by a group of American tribes calling themselves *Mexica* (sing., *Mexicatl*) or *Azteca*. The name itself is derived from that of the Mexican war-god *Mexitl* or *Huitzilopochtli*. In A. D. 1325 the Aztecs founded, on the lake of Tezcuco, the settlement of Mexico Tenochtitlan, now represented by the metropolis of the republic. Such was their progress that when, in the earlier portion of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards came into contact with them, the foreigners were astounded at the sight of highly cultured nations, with organized armies, official administrators, courts of justice, high agriculture, advanced mechanic arts, and stone buildings the size and finish of whose architecture and sculpture inspired the liveliest curiosity.

Such magnificence awakened many speculations as to the origin of the *Azteca*. Siguenza maintained that they were descended from Naphtuhim, son of Mizraim, a grandson of Noah; Garcia and Lord Kingsborough that they were the lost tribes of the house of Israel. The Mexican indigenes are now roughly grouped by sundry ethnologists into a single race or division of mankind. Their descendants of pure blood constitute about four fifths of the population. Sturdy and muscular, their stature averages five feet three inches; their skulls are mesocephalic, faces oval, foreheads low, cheek-bones high, eyes long and sloping outward toward the temples, lips fleshy, noses wide and flattish but occasionally aquiline, features coarsely molded, and expression somewhat stolid and gloomy. The skin is

thick, complexion varying from yellow-brown to chocolate, eyes black, hair straight, coarse, black, and glossy. Stature and color are necessarily modified by climatic influences. Mongoloid resemblances point to derivation from the nomad tribes of Tartary at a period so remote that all affinities between their respective languages have long since ceased to be discoverable. Perhaps it was when there was continuous land connection between the two continents. Similarity of bodily structure argues community of origin; linguistic distinctions argue lengthened temporal periods in which forceful differentiating causes were in persistent operation. The Mexican method of time-notation also suggests Mongol parentage. Their belief in the nine stages of heaven and hell was probably of Asiatic astronomical birth. The picture-writings exhibited in Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico" doubtless had their first rough drafts in the same eastern home. Native traditions of the creation of the world and man, as seen in the *Popol Vuh*, or national book of the Quichés of Guatemala, are very like the narratives of Mosaic history, and if independent of them afford additional presumptive proof of the accuracy of the latter. They also point to the unity of the human race, and its beginning in or near the Mesopotamian Valley.

Anthropologists follow native precedent in using the term *Nahua* for the whole series of peoples on the Mexican plateau. Of these the Toltecs were presumably the first immigrants. They are said to have introduced the culture of maize and cotton, workmanship in gold and silver, and the art of building, of which a stupendous specimen remains in the celebrated mound of Cholula. The hieroglyphic writing and calendar are also declared to be theirs. With them is associated the tradition of Quetzalcoatl, a great Mexican deity and the god of war, represented in legend by his worshipers as a white man with noble features, long black hair and full beard, dressed in flowing robes—a saintly ruler and civilizer. Of austere, virtuous life, he taught men to hate violence and war, to offer no sacrifices on the altars but to worship by offerings of bread, flowers, and perfumes. He is said to have taught picture-writing, the calendar, and artistic work in silver. Departing from the country, it was said that, when he reached the Atlantic, he sent back his companions to inform the Cholulans that, in the future, men

white and bearded like himself should land there from the sea toward the sunrising, and come to rule the country.

The eleventh century, according to Mexican historians, brought destruction to the Toltecs by years of drought, famine, and pestilence. The few survivors migrated into Yucatan and Guatemala. Next after the Toltecs came the Chichimecs, who were fused with the more cultured nations in the neighborhood of Tezcuco. Last came the successive immigration of the seven Mexican nations, of whom the last were the Tlascalteca and Azteca. The latter, distinguished by ferocity and warlike prowess, became so obnoxious because of their sanguinary cruelty that they were driven to live on the islands and swamps of the great salt lagoon, where they eked out existence by constructing the *Chinampas*, or floating gardens of mud, heaped on rafts of reeds and brush, of which we read so much in the histories of Mexico. In the fourteenth century, after sacking the city of Tezcuco, they rose into more enviable prominence. Under the first Montcuczoma (Sp., *Montezuma*) their sway was widely extended, and the gods of the conquered nations had their shrines set up in Tenochtitlan in evident inferiority to the temple of Huitzilopochtli, the war-god of the Aztec conquerors. From the west to the Pacific, and from the east to the Atlantic, tribute was exacted from the vanquished, and also multitudes of prisoners whose hearts were to be torn out by sacrificing priests to propitiate a pantheon of gods as bloodthirsty as their worshipers. Religion was a sickening butchery.

Oppression paved the way to overthrow by the Spaniards, who were hailed by the subject tribes as deliverers. The stubborn, unsubdued Tlaxcallan (*Tlascalans*) proved to be ready allies to the latter. Six fifty-two-year periods had passed when in 1507 the festival of the new cycle was solemnized at Chapultepec by kindling, for the last time, a new fire upon the breast of a human victim, and flinging his body on a pile kindled with the new flame. Swift runners carried burning brands from thence to rekindle the extinct fires of the land; the sacred fire on the *teocalli* of the war-god blazed up again, and the people began the new cycle with feasting and rejoicing. In 1517 Cordova touched at Yucatan; in 1518 Grijalva showed himself on the east coast of Mexico; next came Hernando Cortez. The prophecy of Quetzalcoatl was fulfilled.

The progress of the white men was assisted by the fears of the natives. Aztec domination became a thing of the past. Tyranny, imperial and inquisitorial, took the place of despotism absolute and sanguinary, and prolonged the anguish of the land for three wasting and woeful centuries.

The Aztec rule in Mexico was highly organized, and bore not a few features of similarity to the feudal governments of Europe in the Middle Ages. Civilization and scientific culture were of almost as high grade as in Western Europe. The judicial system was fully equal to that of Spain, and culminated in a general court and council of state presided over by the king. The punishments inflicted upon offenders were characterized by Draconic severity and excessive cruelty. The Aztecs were a nation of soldiers, trained to arms from youth, and dependent for military promotion on the number of prisoners captured for sacrifice in the most blood-thirsty worship the world ever witnessed.

Traces of monotheism appear in the nine-storied temple, with starry roof, that was built by Nezahualcoyotl, the poet-king of Tezcuco, in honor of the invisible deity called Tloque-nahuaque, "*he who is all in himself*," or Ipalnemoan, "*he by whom we live*," who had no image, and was propitiated, not by bloody sacrifices, but by incense and flowers. A rival deity of evil, called Tlacatecolotl, or "man-owl," also appears in Mexican mythology. But these traces of earlier faith were thickly overlaid by beliefs in polytheistic gods of ordinary barbaric type. Sun and moon, and possibly other nature-gods, received adoration. Huitzilopochtli, a deified warrior-chief, was the real head of the Aztec pantheon. Centeotl was patroness of the earth, and mother of all the gods. Mictlanteuctli, lord of dead-land, ruled over the departed in the dim underworld. Numbers of lesser deities presided over classes of society, events, occupations, and pleasures. Crowds of nature-spirits received offerings from passers-by at their road-side shrines. A temple was termed *teocalli*, or "god's house." The *teocallis* of the greater deities, like the temples of ancient Babylon, were pyramids of square or oblong base, rising in successive terraces to a small summit platform. That of Huitzilopochtli stood in the city of Mexico on an immense square from which radiated the four principal thoroughfares:

375 by 350 feet at the base, it rose steeply to the height of eighty-six feet, and showed to the superstitious and fanatical people the long processions of priests and victims winding along the terraces and up the corner flights of steps to the paved platform of the three-story tower temple that surmounted it. There was the hideous image of the war-god, and before it the green stone of victory, "humped so as to bend upward the body of the victim that the priest might more easily slash open the breast with his obsidian knife, tear out the heart, and hold it up before the god, while the captor and his friends were waiting below for the carcass to be tumbled down the steps for them to carry home and cook for the feast of victory. Before the shrines, reeking with the stench of slaughter, the eternal fires were kept burning, and on the platform stood the huge drum covered with snakes' skin, whose fearful sound was heard for miles. From the terrace could be seen seventy or more temples, with their images and blazing fires, and the *tzompantli*, or "skull-place," where the skulls of victims by tens of thousands were skewered on cross-sticks or built into towers. There also might be seen the flat circular *ternalacatl*, or "spindle-stone," where captives armed with wooden weapons were "allowed the mockery of a gladiatorial fight against well-armed champions."* The iniquities of these Amorites was full, and the Spaniard was the sword selected by God to smite and devour them. The great pyramid of Cholula, crowned by the hemispherical temple of Quetzalcoatl, was about thrice as long and twice as high as the *teocalli* of Mexico. The rites of worship were prayer, sacrifice, processions, dances, chants, fasting, and other austerities. Prayers were of endless prolixity, with an occasional touch of pathos. Human sacrifice, with the nauseous and shocking consequence of cannibalism, was the chief rite.

The education of the ancient Mexican children is portrayed in the picture-writings collected by Lord Kingsborough. These sketch their occupations, punishments, and preparation for the duties of future life. Agriculture, irrigation, food, have undergone little change since the conquest. The maize *tortilla*, which resembles the oat-cake of Scotland and Yorkshire, accompanied by draughts of the intoxicating *octli*, or pulque, chiefly

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, vol. xvi, p. 211.

constituted their bill of fare. Clothing was principally of cotton; ornaments were of gold, silver, and precious stones; iron was unknown; bronze of copper and tin abundant; obsidian and sharp stone flakes were mainly used for cutting, shaving, etc. Currency consisted of transparent quills of gold dust and pieces of copper, with cocoa beans for small change. Poetry, music, and amusements were diligently cultivated.

H. H. Bancroft, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Prescott, Helps, and Cesena are the most considerable modern historians of Mexico, and their works embody a vast amount of detailed information about this extraordinary people. The last embraces the substance of the earlier writers, Gomara, Torquemada, Acosta, and Boturini. Of travels in Mexico the volumes of De Waldeck, D. Charnay, J. L. Stephens, Brantz Mayer, Tylor, Gilbert Haven, Brocklehurst, Castro, Conkling, and Ober are among the best.

The colonial history of Mexico, beginning with the death of Guatimozin, the last of the Aztec monarchs, in 1521, closed with the departure of the last Spanish viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, in 1821. Sullen submission and grinding oppression were the social traits of the Mexican people throughout these centuries. The Spaniards held the country for what they could squeeze out of it, and for that purpose only. They were slaveholders to all intents and purposes; the Indians being in fact slaves, under the title of peons. The conquerors were remarkable for bigotry, arrogance, and cruelty; the conquered races for ignorance, patience, and hopefulness. Spain at that time was an open sieve through which the riches of the New World ran as fast as they were poured in. Craving and cruelty were the twin sisters that controlled its motion. But the natives profited by the infusion of Spanish blood, and were thereby helped to successful insurrection and ultimate independence.*

In 1810 discontent with Spanish oppression broke into open revolt at Guanajuato, under the leadership of Don Manuel

* Ethnically, Mexico now consists of—1. Full-blood Indians, 5,000,000; 2. Mestizoes (half-caste Indians and whites), 3,000,000; 3. Creoles (whites of Spanish descent), 1,500,000; 4. Gachupines (Spaniards by birth), 50,000; 5. Other Europeans and Americans, 100,000; 6. Full-blood Negroes, 10,000; 7. Zamboes, or Chinos (Indo-Africans), 45,000; 8. Mulattoes (Eurafrarians), 5,000.

Hidalgo. Like Morelos, his patriot successor, he was a priest. Mexican independence was proclaimed in 1813, and achieved in 1821, when Iturbide assumed the crown that had been previously rejected by a prince of Spain. Santa Anna raised the republican standard at Vera Cruz, in December, 1822. Internal dissensions followed in the shape of at least *three hundred* successful or abortive revolutions. But amid this bewildering chaos of empires, republics, dictatorships, and military usurpations, the people steadily acquired liberal ideas, and laid the foundations of true national freedom. The real contest was between the subject races and that form of baptized idolatry which had replaced the worship of Huitzilopochtli. The disastrous war with the United States for the recovery of Texas, in which the city of Mexico was captured, September 13, 1847, resulted in the cession of California and New Mexico to this country in 1848. The treaty of Mesilla, negotiated by Gadsden in 1853, still further aggrandized the United States and reduced Mexico to its present limits. The war of reform between the Conservatives, or Church party, under Comonfort, and Benito Juarez, at the head of the *Puros*, or advanced Liberals, lasted until 1860. At the triumphal entry of the latter into the capital in 1861, he and his compatriots took the monster that had so nearly crushed the life out of his people by the throat, and effected final separation between Church and State. They declared marriage to be a civil contract, suppressed celibacy and ecclesiastical tribunals, confiscated ecclesiastical property valued at $375,000,000, and the more than one third of the national soil held by the Church—leaving sufficient church accommodation for all the citizens. All religions are now tolerated, but none are under the patronage of the State.

After the establishment of the republic by Juarez, Spain, France, and England intervened, and urged claims for the losses of their subjects. Spain and England, when their demands were satisfied by negotiation, withdrew, but France still occupied the capital. Louis Napoleon, urged by his own ambitious designs and by the Jesuits who had been driven out of Mexico, offered the imperial crown to the Austrian Archduke, Ferdinand Maximilian, who accepted it, arrived in June, 1864, and assumed the government. Abandoned by the French, who evacuated the country at the suggestion of our government

through Mr. Seward, backed by an army within striking distance of the Rio Grande, Maximilian—good-natured tool of the papacy—was captured and remorsely shot at Queretaro, on the 19th of June, 1867. Juarez, the patriot Aztec President, died in office, July, 1872, and was succeeded by his Secretary, Lerdo de Tejada, who in turn was followed by the Aztec Porfirio Diaz in 1876. Manuel Gonzalez, of Spanish or mixed blood, his elected successor in 1880, has been followed by Diaz (December 1, 1884), who is now constitutionally filling the chief magistracy for a second term.

Democratic institutions are established on a firm basis. The government, under the Constitution of 1857, amended in 1873–74, is modeled after that of the United States. Popular suffrage indirectly chooses the President for four years, the Upper House, or Senate, of fifty-four members, and the Supreme Judiciary for six years; and the members of the Lower House, or House of Delegates, for two years, in the proportion of one member to every 40,000 inhabitants. The Chief-Justice is *ex-officio* Vice-President. Full autonomy is enjoyed by the States in all local affairs. Each constitutionally provides for the three departments of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. All external questions and matters of general interest are reserved for the central government. Since 1869 peace has been preserved at home and abroad. Mexico looks confidently forward to a brilliant future. The plague spot upon the body politic, the weak point in the national organism, is the uncivilized Indian element. But this, ignorant and imbruted as it is, composed of tribes that cannot understand each others' languages, wild and savage in some districts as in the days of the seven tribal divisions of the Nahua, can and will be reached by modern civilization, and particularly by the various evangelical missionaries who have entered Mexico to stay. These races display a vitality, toughness, and power of endurance not possessed by the Algonquin and Huron divisions of the indigenes in America, and may attain that high status of Christian civilization illustrated by Juarez and Diaz, the Washington and Jefferson of Mexico.

Inadequate provision is made for national education. The amount spent by the government on education in 1884 was $3,400,000. The University of Mexico was abolished in 1856,

and in its place special schools of law, medicine, music, agriculture, engineering, mines, commerce, fine arts, the sciences and literature, and a military college are now sustained by the Federal government; also various schools of lower grades for both sexes. There are over 200 of the latter in the city of Mexico, besides 100 private schools. Common schools are supplied at all the centers of population, and 138 institutes for higher education at the capitals. Over 8,980 public elementary schools brighten and bless the country. Special schools are also provided for deaf-mutes, the blind, and juvenile delinquents. The republic deserves warm praise for excellent intentions.

A small but efficient army is maintained at an annual cost of about $7,000,000. Six gun-boats and two torpedo-boats compose the navy, and are confined to coast-guard duty.

The religious condition of Mexico is a subject of great interest to all Christian peoples. Vitally related as it is to the morals of the republic, it is also a matter of great importance to those who stand in commercial and political relations with it. Just as the greater part of the heathenism of the Roman empire was baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and incorporated with the body which professed to be his spouse, so the major portion of the old Aztec paganism was introduced into the Roman Catholic Church established by the Spaniards in Mexico. Its superstitions, its social morals, its indecencies, were—many of them—transferred to the new organization. Bad as Spanish Romanism was, it was not improved by the intermixture of Mexican ignorance and sensuous devotion.

The ancient Mexican peoples were undoubtedly "very religious"—quite as much so as the Athenians, in whom Paul recognized that characteristic. The Italian Clavigero affirms, what may also be conceded, that "the religion of the Mexicans was less superstitious, less indecent, less childish, and less unreasonable than that of the most cultivated nations of ancient Europe." Still it was a brutal and sanguinary religion. United with the ferocious heathen element in Roman Catholicism, its survival to the present time is manifest in the assassinations and murders committed upon some of the purest and noblest of modern Christians. Bernal Diaz, as quoted by the Rev. Rollo Ogden, from whose article on "Missions in Mexico,"* some of the

* "Andover Review," p. 560, *et seq.*

following excerpts are selected, claims for himself and comrades the honor of having converted the natives to the true faith. He says that "we, the conquerors, taught them to keep wax candles lighted before the holy altars and crosses." * The power of that rough instruction was in the sword that enforced it. The instructed were left in as dense religious and moral darkness as before.

During the centuries that have passed away since the conquests of Cortez, enough of the true Gospel light has penetrated Mexico to show its best minds that Roman Catholicism is not the religion of Christ, and that its morals are wholly different from those of the New Testament. Contact with Protestants, and the dissemination of Bibles and religious books, have opened the eyes of the suffering people to the real character of Mexican ecclesiasticism. The result is, that for many years there has been a growing insurrection against the priesthood, in which the contempt, hatred, and invective of the revolters have shown themselves in pamphlets and lampoons, pictures and pasquinades, ballads and placards. Much of this scorn and ridicule is scurrilous and indecent, but none the less effective on the popular mind because of that fact. The spirit of the Middle Ages against the venality and corruption of the pseudo-Church reappears in Mexico.

What is most pleasing and hopeful in this indigenous revolt against Romanism is, that its hostility "is not directed against the true ministers of Jesus Christ, but against those hypocrites who have converted our holy religion into a ridiculous farce, and against all those whose conscience is gold."

That the condemnation of the Papal Church in Mexico is just appears not only from the indignant fulminations of natives, but from the testimony of Romanist ecclesiastics of other nationalities, who are certainly under no temptation to speak more unfavorably of their co-religionists than the facts will warrant. The evidence of enemies may be questioned; that of friends can scarcely be doubted. Emanuel Domenech, a French priest who was director of the press in the cabinet of the Emperor Maximilian, in his "*Le Mexique Tel Qu'il Est*" (Paris, 1867), draws the portrait of the Mexican clergy with a bold and graphic hand. They are in general, he tells us, very poorly educated,

* "The True History of the Conquest of Mexico," p. 497. London, 1800.

know little of theology, and less of canon laws and the decrees of councils.

> The priests have the most erroneous and absurd ideas of morals and of Catholic dogma. . . . They traffic in the sacraments, make money out of every religious ceremony, untroubled by the fact that they become guilty of simony and are liable to the censures of the Church. If the laws of Rome were to be enforced in Mexico, the majority of the Mexican clergy would be excommunicated.

That popery is responsible for this deplorable condition of affairs cannot be denied in presence of the Vatican Decrees and other assumptions of its exponents.

The same authority sketches the scandalous lives of the priests in the darkest colors, dipping his pencil in the fetid pigment of facts. Many of the priests are fathers of families. "The people think this is natural enough, and are not disposed to make jokes about their pastors, except when they are not content with a single woman." Priests and people are wholly right, when tested by Christian ethics, in this matter, provided the relation referred to be one of honorable marriage. That it is so in many instances appears from Domenech's statements. One angry woman exclaimed to his friend: "Sir, I would have you know that I am an honorable woman, and that I would not live with the priest unless we were lawfully married." "In fact," adds Domenech, "in the State of Oaxaca there are priests who marry in order to scandalize no one." That these priests have married, and that others are marrying, is an augury of a better future for Mexico; notwithstanding that "some of the bishops groan over this matter." Others, more sensibly, "without any doubt, encourage it with a remarkable good nature," and bless, and even baptize, the children of the priests. "Can such a clergy produce saints?" asks the horrified witness.

"Mexico," continues our authority, "is not a Catholic country, because the majority of the Indian population are semi-idolaters, . . . a fact recognized by all the travelers," including the officers of the French army. "The Mexican religion" is "a singular collection of lifeless devotions, of haughty ignorance, of unhealthy superstitions, and of horrible vices."

> There appear in the Catholicism of the Indians numerous vestiges of the Aztec paganism. . . . Sacrifices of turtles and other

animals are still practiced by thousands of Indians in many places. In the State of Puebla . . . they used to sacrifice, not many years ago, on St. Michael's Day, a small orphan child, or else an old man who had nothing better to do than to go to the other world.

The religious opinions thus indicated are not confined to the ignorant classes, but are found equally among those in the middle ranks of society. The horrible profanity, the shameless and disgusting immorality concomitant with them, may be readily imagined, but is of such nature as to forbid any truthful representation in these pages.

The religious and social prospects of Mexico to-day are bright as the promises of God. Nothing but the clouds of human passion, and the hurricanes of devastation and misery that burst out of the corruptions and wickedness of humanity, can permanently obscure them. The Bibles sent into Mexico by the American Bible Society, in the invasion of 1846, scattered seeds of truth which, finding lodgment in prepared hearts, have since borne many a harvest of blessing. Mr. Ogden states "that a family which has since produced three Protestant ministers owed its conversion to evangelical Christianity to such a stray volume, bought out of mere curiosity from a second-hand dealer, but read and read with ever-growing interest until full light came." From Brownsville, on the Texan side of the Rio Grande, where she had established a school in 1852, Miss Rankin entered the interior. Monterey saw her schools and congregations flourish and pass under the fostering care of the American Board; and from that, in 1870, to the wise and strong guardianship of the Presbyterian Church. Methodist and Baptist missionaries followed the lead of this "elect lady." In 1869 the Rev. H. C. Riley entered the city of Mexico as an agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union. The apparent prosperity attending his work was marred by difficulties that culminated in his resignation, after having been consecrated to the episcopal office. The Presbyterians in 1872, the Methodist Episcopalians, South, in 1872–73, the Methodist Episcopalians in 1873, the Congregationalists in 1874–75, the Presbyterians, South, in 1874, and the Baptists, South, in 1882, have all established themselves in this singularly beautiful and historic land. The Rev. J. W. Butler, whose heroic father, under God, founded the Methodist Episcopal

missions in Mexico, as well as in India, reckons no less than fifteen missionary societies operating within the Republic of Mexico in 1883.*

There is year by year less crowding of denominational missions in the larger towns. Change for the better in the temper of the people and the policy of the government emboldens the missionaries to push out into the country from these centers. The work of the Presbyterian northern mission, writes the Rev. Rollo Ogden, radiates from Monterey, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas. In the city of Mexico, the sea-port of Vera Cruz, the State of Michoachan, as in mountainous Guerrero and tropical Tabasco, they have also rooted themselves. The Methodists of the Church South extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and from El Paso far to the south. The Congregationalists occupy the cities of Chihuahua and Guadalajara, together with numerous country stations. The Rev. J. L. Stephens, one of the noble army of martyrs, belonged to their ministry. The Methodist Episcopalians, true to the spirit of our Lord's injunction to his disciples, "beginning at Jerusalem," commenced with the capital. Their missions accompany the railroads; their congregations are found in most of the important towns on the lines that radiate from the metropolis. To advance thence into the most secluded country districts is simply a question of time. The tireless itinerant, from whom sinners find it impossible to escape on the frontiers of American civilization, will find his way into the mountainous recesses of semi-tropical Mexico, and there proclaim to Spaniard, Aztec, Toltec, and Mazahua the blessings of free, full, and present salvation through repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. The tyrannies and corruptions of Rome, the natural longings for freedom, the native hunger and thirst of the human soul for God, have all prepared the way for his advent.

* To these belong, in the aggregate: Foreign missionaries, including wives, 69; missionaries of Woman's Boards, 16; native laborers, ordained, 40; native laborers, unordained, 163; congregations, 264; communicants, 13,096; probable adherents, 27,300; Sunday-schools, 130; Sunday-school scholars, 4,654; day-schools, 82; male pupils, 1,570; female pupils, 1,516; church buildings, 45; other places of worship, 219; estimated value of church property, $462,850; printing presses in use, 11; periodicals issued, 12; total circulation of all, 14,000; pages of religious literature issued in 1882, 3,570,445; theological students, 36.

President Diaz is pledged to execute the national laws in the protection of the missionaries. About five years ago Bishop Harris met this accomplished chief magistrate, who is an Aztec of pure blood, at a reception given in the city of Mexico by the American minister to General Grant, and accepted an invitation to call upon him the next day. In the very interesting interview that ensued President Diaz talked freely about the mission work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the republic. The Bishop thanked him for the interest exhibited in the Church and for the favor shown to the missionaries. He courteously replied: "I am entitled to no thanks for what I have done. It is my duty to execute the laws of the land, and I have endeavored to do this faithfully; and whatever favors your missionaries may have received is because they are entitled to them under the laws of this country."

His administration has been at all times in perfect harmony with the spirit of this utterance. Intolerance and lawlessness are not dead in Mexico, but they have lost much of their ancient blindness and fury. That General Gonzalez, at the close of the term for which he had been elected, vacated the chair as the Constitution provides, is a sign of promise. Under the incumbency of Diaz all missionaries may hope for help and protection. That such expectation is justifiable may be inferred from the fact that the Minister of Finance, at the request of Bishop Harris on his last visit, promptly canceled sundry tax claims, amounting to several thousand dollars, that had been improperly charged against the mission property in Mexico. American energy, capital, thrift, and intelligence all co-operate in the great enterprise. In all Mexico the word of the Lord will run and be glorified.

The indebtedness of the United States of America to Mexico is one that can be liquidated only by costly, persistent, and Christian philanthropy. Considerably more than half the territory of which our "next-door neighbor" was possessed prior to the independence of Texas is now under the Stars and Stripes. By what means the transference was effected, and from the prompting of what motives, are matters of history on which it is not necessary here to dwell. The best possible compensation for this spoliation will be, that we shall bless what remains of Mexico with the light and power of the Gospel.

Art. II.—ANTHROPOMORPHISM.

"My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."—Isa. lv, 8.

Πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν.—Protagoras, in Diogenes Laertius, ix, 51.

"Fools, to dream that man can escape from himself, that human reason can draw aught but a human portrait of God."—Mansel, "Limits of Religious Thought," p. 12.

St. Spiridion may be characterized as the patron and tutelar saint of the Corfiotes. His body is believed to rest in the church dedicated to his name. His devotees entertain quite a superstitious respect for the saint, and a veneration for his reputed remains which is strikingly fetichistic. Spiridion was a bishop of the island of Cyprus. He was a member of the Council of Nice in A. D. 325, and of the Council of Sardis in 347, where he was one of the chief defenders of Athanasius. According to the legend, his body was exempt from decay, and its presence was found capable of exerting miraculous powers. For this reason it was retained in Constantinople until the capture of that city by the Turks, in 1453, when it was secretly conveyed by a poor man to Corfu. Here its miraculous powers were immediately manifest; a rude chapel was erected over the remains, and their owner ultimately accumulated riches from the offerings of devotees at the shrine. This singular piece of property remains in possession of the family to this day, but the rude chapel has become one of the finest churches in Corfu.

The body is borne in festive processions around the public square and through the city three times a year. Woe to the unfortunate foreigner who shows levity at the adoration of the crowd. Several English soldiers and officers were assassinated for so doing, and a Lord High Commissioner had to retire from office, owing to the insecurity of his life, on account of his making sport of the superstitious adoration of the people.

When witnesses are believed to be swearing falsely in court, usually a threat to bring them to this body will make them testify to the truth. Obdurate witnesses have held out until brought to the sarcophagus itself, even till the lid was opened. But, as they have been forced to lay a hand upon the feet of the body, cold, clammy sweat would break out, and, trembling from head to foot, or falling to the floor in terror, they would reverse their testimony

and tell the truth, though they had previously sworn to opposite statements with the most solemn oaths, in the name of God and the Holy Trinity.*

The veneration of the body of St. Spiridion is cited as a forcible illustration of the superior influence of the concrete and comprehensible in shaping the motives and actions of men; and the comparatively feeble hold secured by abstract principles and intangible existences. That which is absent, or simply ideal, fails to make vivid impressions on the generality of mankind; and when our best efforts to present it to thought or imagination leave but a vague and inadequate result in the mind, the object loses its grip upon thought and motive, and men yield themselves to the more lively impressions received from tangible and familiar modes of existence.

The whole realm of infinite and eternal truth, which stretches on every hand beyond the narrow circle of human experience, is comparatively little known save in the necessary intuition of its existence; and every attempt to formulate in thought any truth lying within the realm of the infinite and unconditioned must employ the symbols afforded by the finite. Our only measure of being is human intellect. The unknown can only be brought within reach of apprehension so far as it admits of comparison with the known; and our apprehension of attainable truth will be vivid and impressive only in proportion as it may be symbolized by our cognitions of familiar and concrete objects. St. Spiridion as a power in the realm of departed spirits is to common apprehension remote and comparatively unreal; but St. Spiridion as a material form is something which can be seen and touched. No matter, though consciousness may have departed centuries ago, the clear and familiar cognition of a once percipient and venerated form brings the reality of the intangible spirit into such lively association that the spirit itself seems more real, and moves more effectually the feelings and the motives.

We have elsewhere adverted to the fact that all human efforts to comprehend God must necessarily be anthropomorphic.† While we admit that the finite measure of infinite being must leave infinite being as a whole forever unknown, yet the human

* Prof. G. F. Comfort, in "Northern Christian Advocate," Aug. 8, 1878.

† "Reconciliation of Science and Religion," pp. 38, 39.

character of our means of knowing God renders it inevitable that such theistic knowledge as is attainable should exist under the forms and limitations of thought imposed by human nature. Every human affirmation concerning God must, from the nature of human and divine relations, be, as Schleiermacher has already said, merely figurative and anthropomorphic. This immanent and constitutional impossibility of conveying the complete being of God into human apprehension, makes God, for us, not only in a certain sense the Unknowable, but the Non-existent, since it is easy to challenge our right to affirm existence of that whose existence infinitely transcends the knowledge which must be the basis and justification of the affirmation. This view, which discloses the logical ground of both agnostic theology and philosophic atheism, is, however, incomplete, as may be shown, since we have a faculty transcending the logical, which reports to us testimony concerning the being and attributes of God, and which we cannot challenge without self-stultification. Hence Buddhism, which recognizes God as not only inconceivable but philosophically non-existent, nevertheless reveals the irrepressible God-consciousness in man by confessing its failure to formulate a conception of God. So in the soul's unconscious striving to give cognizable shape to the divine consciousness which it feels, the inevitableness of anthropomorphism is shown in the personified ideas of Buddhism and the deified ancestors of Confucianism. We feel the being of God, but the feeling only becomes recognized knowledge when we discover the uniform concomitancy of symbols yielded by the cognition of the finite. All possible knowledge of God is, therefore, not only finite, and thus inadequate, but, by the necessity of our constitution, it is anthropomorphic.*

* It will be noticed in the progress of this discussion, that our conception of anthropomorphism recognizes limitations ignored by the Spencerian phase of evolution-philosophy. This maintains that all affirmations whatever respecting the being and activity of God are unauthorized, because they are determined by our finite faculties. Thus we are not at liberty to affirm that divine activity is prompted or guided by motive, or that any ends may be recognized in the system of things. We are not at liberty to say that God is good or volitional, or even wise, because we cover in the predication only an infinitely small portion of the predicable. Thus the doctrine of final causes is disallowed, as being simply an anthropomorphic conception. (See especially Fisk, "Cosmic Philosophy," part ii, chap. ii.) On the contrary, we maintain that the admission of end as the correlative of intelligible action is a necessity of thought, not alone a human necessity, and is hence

This necessity affords no just ground for a denial of the validity of our theistic knowledge. It is no disparagement to our theology to discover that it is anthropomorphic; the more so because theology is not the only realm in which the shadow of man is cast over all that is held to be known. We furnish in ourselves the sole conditions of all knowledge, and the sole sanctions of all belief. We do not deny the existence of infinite space because the unattainable apprehension of it is sought by a struggle through concepts of square miles and cubic leagues. We admit the reality and the endlessness of duration, notwithstanding our only reflective knowledge of infinite time is through cognitions of hours and weeks and years. We do not deny the infinite extension of the material universe, notwithstanding either the impossibility of cognizing it or thinking it, or the fact that all which we seem to know of it is under the forms of finite things, cognized by human faculties, under the limitations imposed by human nature, and with all the inadequacy and incompleteness which qualify all possible knowledge of the infinite. The essence of matter is something as mysterious and elusive as the being of God; yet the most exacting caution freely admits the reality of something which yields the phenomena universally ascribed to matter. If we attempt to give definition and clearness to our idea of matter, we think, perhaps, of ultimate atoms, having shape—round, ellipsoidal, polyhedral, or otherwise—and these are concepts transferred from the realm of molar existence, and hence purely symbolical, and imposed upon us by the limitations and endowments of human intelligence. Perhaps we endeavor to think of matter as dynamical; but the word awakens no apprehension more definite or clear or certain than does the name of God, unless we symbolically visualize centers or lines of force. This is a relapse to the other method of contemplating matter, and discloses not only our intellectual impotence, but the necessity of clothing our knowledge in a guise familiar to our faculties. In other words, all our knowledge of matter, or time, or space, is

infinitely as well as finitely true. Necessities of intelligence are not anthropomorphic; necessities special to humanity are. So the correlation of pre-existent wisdom with a scheme whose contemplation awakens human thought, or the predication of volition in the causation of such a scheme, is an intelligential necessity, not merely a human necessity.

anthropomorphic in the same sense as our knowledge of God is anthropomorphic. All that we know or can know must be anthropomorphically known.

It follows that all possible theistic conceptions must be pervaded and limited by anthropomorphism. We speak of God as the Creator of the world; but it is difficult to exalt the Creator above the conception of the demiurge. Few minds rise higher than the thought of a being reduced within limitations, and active upon a universe equally reduced within limitations. God and the universe reduced within limitations are not only no longer themselves, but become represented by something which receives the measure supplied by human faculties. This is the best which we can do. If we enlarge our apprehension of either God or of the universe, we do not pass from the order of finite existences to the order of infinite existences in which God and the universe dwell, but only enlarge something which still remains finite, and is grasped under the forms of human thought.

We are accustomed to say that God is omnipresent, and we feel an ineradicable assurance that the word stands for a truth. But the comprehension of this attribute is involved in the impossibility of comprehending the infinitude of space and time. We cannot avoid saying that God is here or God is there; that God anticipates and God reflects. It is impossible to conceive being which fills all space, and exists yesterday and to-morrow in the same sense as to-day. Yet we have the feeling—that intuitive feeling which is the simplest element of cognition—that such is the prerogative of divine existence. It is anthropomorphism which impels us to contemplate God as "anticipating the end from the beginning." End and beginning are terms having no meaning in the vocabulary of absolute theology. All ends and all beginnings are simultaneous. Succession of states of consciousness must be, humanly speaking, an impossibility with an omnipresent intelligence. Yet in our mental co-adjustment to a certain constitution of things, we can form no conception of the annihilation of history—successions of events and successions in the cognition of them.

We speak of God as omnipotent, but we cannot divest ourselves of the notion that the divine activity involves effort. We speak of the "work" of God. We speak of "great works"

worthy of the majesty of God, and small works too insignificant to be worthy of his notice. Hence has arisen the conception of a demiurge which should relieve the Supreme Ruler of the details of his administration. Hence the doctrine of demigods, divine messengers, and servitors. Hence the "plastic force" of Cudworth, the *anima mundi* of Stahl, the *principium hylarchicum* of More, and the *archæus* of Agrippa. Hence the ascription of unconscious intelligence in matter or the forms of matter, whereby the exigences of the world should be met by a self-inhering discernment and will. Hence the conception of the world as a mechanism, self-operating from the epoch of its divine institution. Hence the conception of natural forces which are thought to inhere in matter, and, strangely enough, to act with discernment without possessing any faculty of discernment. All such conceptions are purely anthropomorphic, and incompatible with an exalted apprehension of the meaning of omnipotence.* With omnipotence there is nothing great or small. The creation of a planet is a work no greater than the development of a blade of grass, or the circulation of the fluid through the veins of a gnat's wing. Weariness, effort, exhaustion, care, watchfulness, are, with the Divine Being, terms which have no more significance than location, here, there, past, future, and the like. But the conditions of our being compel us to contemplate the divine character under the forms of thought expressed by these terms.

So of the divine omniscience. At the same time that we maintain the unlimited knowledge of God, we revolt from the idea that every hair of our heads, and every leaf in the forest, and every molecule of every form of matter must be the object of divine cognition. Yet this revolt arises from our human inability to comprehend the meaning and implications of omniscience. We are compelled to think of God as knowing according to our method of knowing. Any other method of knowing transcends our comprehension; but this does not prompt us to doubt the absolute omniscience of the Divine Being.

* It is not denied that intelligences exist intermediate between man and God; we maintain the high probability of their existence. But, being finite, the disparity between their powers and those of the Supreme Being is infinite, so that the highest created intelligence sinks simply into the same category with man in incompetency to render such service as to lessen the infinitude of God's work.

We maintain that personality is one of the attributes of God; and our inability to think a personality unlimited by time or space imposes upon us a conception of God within limitations of time and space. Person, to us, implies figure and locality. It is probable that there is present, more or less vaguely, in the imagination of every one an apprehension of God which sets forth a human outline with spatial limitations and local determinations. This is evinced by the representations left us by the great painters and poets.* The Patagonian conceives God as "a big black man" living in the woods; the Greek ideal was the most exquisite of human forms. "If the soul of man," says Maximus Tyrius, in his defense of Greek anthropomorphism, "is the nearest and most like to God, God would not have inclosed in an unworthy tabernacle that which bears the closest resemblance to himself."† But we are certain that the Divine Person is not thus conditioned. The image of the only type of personality known to us is projected God-ward, and interposes its contour between us and the divine reality; but we have to admit the existence of a Being whose personality consists in the differentiation between infinite subject and infinite object—a Being whose essence pervades the world and outpours the substance of the world, but whose self-consciousness does not belong to the world.

The inability to form an adequate conception of God is an infirmity which characterizes not man alone, but every created intelligence. God can be comprehended only by himself. Whatever may be our future exaltation of being, we shall never see God in any other sense than that in which it is our privilege to see him in the mortal state. We shall never hear his voice save as the Hebrew heard it in the thunder, and the "poor Indian" in the spirit-like murmur of the wind. There will be no throne on which the Creator of heaven and earth will be seated, while countless millions prostrate themselves in his presence. We shall approach—we shall begin to approach—toward the sight of God and converse with God through more exalted symbols and human adaptations of a worthier kind. We shall enjoy a more vivid and impressive, and, therefore,

* Milton, in "Paradise Lost;" Pollock, in "The Course of Time;" Rubens, Kaulbach, and others, in "The Last Judgment."

† Maximus Tyrius, Dissertation xxxviii.

a more satisfying, consciousness of closer relations with the Unseen. We may even, like Moses, in deference to our infirmities, be favored with revelations of form and figure and glory, through which special avenues may be cleared up for the nearer approach of our finite apprehension to the infinite Being. But, whatever clearness of vision we may have for the symbol to finite senses revealed, we must rise higher than the anthropomorphism which imagines the whole being of God is there revealed, under conditions of time and space.

We instinctively believe man, in some way, however feebly, reflects the image of God. The world surrounds us with forms and adjustments which, to a certain extent, are cognizable and interpretable by human intelligence. Its construction and operation have been thought out and determined by mind cognate with that which reviews and interprets the cosmic result. The Ordainer of the world thinks as man thinks,* and therefore his nature is not totally alien from that of man. As far as we feel authorized to interpret nature as the expression of beneficence, we discover a further affiliation between man and the Author of nature. The effort to interpret nature is spontaneous, legitimate, and successful. It follows from this that man's conviction of kinship between himself and his Creator is spontaneous and valid. But man's apprehension of the nature and extent of the resemblance must be determined by the largeness of his apprehension of the world. The spiritual resemblance of man to God seems to be deeply and universally felt. It does not occur to man, till he has developed to the reflective stage, that the attributes of the Divine Being can furnish no parallel with those human endowments which correlate man to the exigences of terrestrial existence; and therefore the conviction, more or less definite, obtains, in all rude conditions of society, that the instincts, passions, resentments, and even the bodily form of man, reflect also the image of God. The belief, therefore, undergoes a progressive development parallel with man's intellectual development.

* It is not meant to assume that the mind of Deity is conscious of successions of states; we must deny it. But the relations of things, which we style intelligential, are apprehended by the Divine Mind in the same sense in which we apprehend them, yet with higher and deeper knowledges rising and enlarging in endless spheres of comprehension to infinity.

In a rude social condition, the Supreme Being is accommodated to apprehension simply as a great and terrible man possessing not only the intellectual and moral attributes of humanity, but also its passions and weaknesses, and even the bodily form and limitations of man. Such a God possesses neither omnipotence, nor omniscience, nor ubiquity. He may be contended with, defrauded, and even vanquished in a conflict. In a stage of society somewhat in advance of this, the supremacy of the Divine Being is acknowledged, but he is conceived as affected by all the foibles and caprices of humanity, governing the world according to human methods, through the ministrations of vicegerents, deputies, and messengers, listening to the pleading of causes, arguing with his subjects, and administering rewards and punishments of a purely material kind. The brightest and most spiritual conception of man's participation in the divine nature sets aside, in the first place, every human quality and gift conferred on humanity to adapt it to a provisional and temporary relation. God cannot be conceived as exercising any powers assumed through dependence on matter or material existence. Man is supplied with organs of sense, to give him the power of utilizing and controlling the forms of matter, and reducing them to subserviency to the ends of a material life. God and spiritual beings must be conceived as ungenerated, while man, under the provisional economy of organic nature, is not only limited by the conditions of material existence, but also by the varied powers, affections, and activities which belong to the reproductive economy. Hence, not only the perpetual struggle for aliment, but the more absorbing and coercive motives which center in the perpetuating of the organic type. Every human attribute of mind or body which is merely auxiliary to this provisional status of the human soul, must be conceived as infinitely alien to natures dwelling in the spiritual realm. This conception seems never to have entered into the popular mythology of the ancients. It appears, then, that the divine in man cannot extend even to all the forms of his sensitive and percipient activity. The image of God, real as it is, can only be sought in the fundamental nature of mind—in its reason, its capacity for knowing, comparing, and concluding, its moral affections, its susceptibility to motive, and its power of self-determination.

Above this, the nature of God expands beyond the likeness and even the comprehension of man, to the awful infinitudes of being "clothed in eternity."

It is the impotence of the human intellect which leads into anthropomorphic conceptions of Deity. "The essence of things," says Erigena, "must be conceived of under local and temporal forms, and God, when he is spoken of, must be presented under such forms and under such conditions."* These conceptions are the symbols which the mind employs to vivify and define the apprehension of a supreme incorporeal Presence which is immanent in the reason of all men, and which, in the form of henotheism, may be recognized in the breast of the meanest savage, though he can command, perhaps, no other mode of expressing his feeling of divine existence than to name a man quite like himself, but possessing extraordinary knowledge, power, and terror. They are the intermediaries or scaffolding by the aid of which the feeble intellect climbs as far as possible toward the comprehension of the felt Supreme. Though they come infinitely short of expressing the cognized reality, like all good similes and symbols they vivify the notion typified, and give it that substance which the religious sentiment needs for its sustenance, authentication, and satisfaction.

No nation ever existed which surpassed the Hebrew in sensitiveness of religious conviction, in the purity of its monotheism, and, we may probably add, the spirituality of its theology. The Hebrew was the only nation of antiquity which recognized the will of God as the supreme principle of national government and private conduct, and the active cause in all the phenomena of the natural world. Yet the theology of the ancient Hebrews was strikingly anthropomorphic. Jahveh was a being conceived as standing in special relations to a single nation; he was "the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." He sustained but feeble relations to surrounding nations, save when he led the Hebrews to conquest and destruction. "With the king of Assyria," said Hezekiah, "is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God, to help us and to fight our battles." 2 Chron. xxxii, 78. So again, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods." Psa. lxxxii, 1. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Exod

* Maurice, "History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," i, 481.

xx, 3. This whole conception of "other gods," and "strange gods," so prominent in the history of the Hebrews, if it is not even polytheistic, betrays at least the weakness of thinking the Supreme Being personified in the Ruler of an insignificant fragment of humanity, without recognition among the nations who were not the "chosen people," and apparently without concern for them.

Jahveh is very often represented, in the Hebrew histories, as actuated by motives which are purely human, and sometimes as cherishing sentiments which we regard even as weaknesses in human character. In enjoining the commandment against "other gods," he is recorded as saying, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." Exod. xx, 5. On another occasion he said, "My wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword." Exod. xxii, 24. When the people, during the prolonged sojourn of their leader in Mount Sinai, grew impatient, and began to bow down before the molten calf prepared by Aaron, after the command to consecrate him to the priesthood, the Lord said, "Let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them." Exod. xxxii, 10; also 27, 28. When the Israelites began to serve Baal and Ashtaroth, "the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia. Judg. iii, 8; also ii, 14; comp. Psa. xl, 12. Change of purpose and regret for the past are repeatedly attributed to Jahveh. When the early wickedness of mankind had become great, "it repented the Lord that he had made man, and it grieved him at his heart." Gen. vi, 6. On occasion of the worship of the "golden calf," the Lord repeatedly recurred to the grievance, and seemed half-disposed to reduce Israel to an equality with other nations in regard to divine favor. "I will send an angel before thee," he says, "for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiff-necked people: lest I consume thee in the way." In this connection the record informs us that "the Lord had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee." Exod. xxxiii, 5; comp. Exod. xxxii, 14; Judg. x, 16.

The Hebrew histories represent Jahveh as the personal counselor of the leaders of the people, the high chancellor of the realm, directing its generals to conquests, slaughters, and pillage,

which in this age would be denounced as blood-thirsty and barbarous, quite in contravention of the recognized laws of nations. As soon as the host of Pharaoh had been destroyed, Moses, in a set form of thanksgiving, declared, "The Lord is a man of war." Exod. xv, 3. In this spirit the Midianites were warred against, and "all the males" were slain, while the women and children were taken captive. At this Moses "was wroth," and commanded the slaughter of all the male children and the married women, and the division of the enormous booty equally between the soldiers and the people at large. This consisted of 32,000 unmarried women, 808,000 sheep, beeves, and asses, and 16,750 shekels of gold, equivalent to about $67,000. Num. xxxi, 1–52. Under the lead of Moses, the Amorites on the east of the Jordan were exterminated. Under the lead of Joshua, the extermination on the west side of the Jordan was almost complete. In reference to Jericho, the record informs us that "they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword." Josh. vi, 21. "And the Lord said unto Joshua, . . . Thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king." Josh. viii, 1, 2. So a stratagem was planned, the city was occupied and burned, and twelve thousand of the inhabitants put to death, "and the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until even-tide." Josh. viii, 24, 25, 29. "So Joshua," as this chapter of the history concludes, "smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings; he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded." Josh. x, 40. After this, the remaining tribes confederated more extensively to repel the invaders from their homes, "and the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them . . . until they left them none remaining." Josh. xi, 8; see also Psa. lxxxviii; cxxxv, 10–12; cxxxvi, 17–22; compare further, Num. xxv, 6–17; xxxi, 1–47. Joshua pursued his course, under command of the Lord, until the whole population was exterminated; "neither left they any to breathe," save "the Hittites, the inhabitants of Gibeon." Nor was the blood-thirsty character of the "chosen of the Lord" soon ameliorated by a more settled political state. Ehud assassinated the king of Moab treacherously, and the Israelites "slew of

Moab . . . ten thousand men, all lusty, and all men of valor; and there escaped not a man." Judg. iii, 29. Not only in the extermination of their national enemies was the cruelty of the Hebrew theocracy demonstrated. In a feud which arose between the tribe of Benjamin and the other tribes, Israel, by command of the Lord, made three successive attacks upon Gibeah, losing on the first two occasions forty thousand men who drew the sword, but on the third attack slaughtering twenty-five thousand of the Benjamites. Judg. xx, 21, 25, 46. So again Achan, who had personally offended, was, according to our conceptions, a subject of just punishment; but, under the theocracy, not only Achan, who had sinned, but his sons and his daughters, who were innocent, were stoned to death at the command of Joshua. Josh. vii, 25. So also David, at a later period, delivered up the two unoffending sons and five grandsons of Saul to be "hanged up unto the Lord in Gibeah." One can never read without a moral revulsion the account of the bloody sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter in fulfillment of a rash and unrighteous vow. Judg. xi, 30–40. See also Saul's promised sacrifice of Jonathan. 1 Sam. xiv, 24, 27, 28, 45.

Jahveh was habitually conceived under limitations of space and time. "Fear not," he is recorded as saying to Jacob, "to go down into Egypt. . . . I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up again." Gen. xlvi, 3, 4. So, also, it is said, "The Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount." Exod. xix, 20. "And the Lord called unto him out of the mountain." Exod. xix, 36. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount." Exod. xxix, 12. Moses held a six days' interview with the Lord, and thereafter "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." Exod. xxxiii, 11. Compare the frequent phrase, "And the Lord spake unto Moses." In a similar way "the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind" (Job xxxviii, 1), and "Job answered the Lord." Job xlii, 1. So the psalmist continually clothes the Lord in the attributes of humanity: "From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth."*

The method by which the Lord selected three hundred men

* Psa. xxxiii, 14. So Aristotle says, God acts directly on the firmament of the fixed stars, which he touches without being touched by it.

to give battle under Gideon to the Midianites seems frivolous and inconsequential. After dismissing twenty thousand, who confessed timidity, ten thousand were taken down to the water and made to drink. Those who got on their knees to reach the water were rejected, and only those were taken who dipped the water in their hands, and lapped it "as a dog lappeth." Judges vii, 3–6. The anthropomorphic adjuncts of Jewish theism are even more striking than these. Adam and Eve "heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord." Gen. iii, 8. Then followed a conversation between Adam and the Lord. On a subsequent occasion, the Lord met Cain and upbraided him for the murder of his brother; and Cain argued with the Lord for a mitigation of the punishment inflicted. Gen. iv, 9–15. So David, thousands of years afterward, asks, "Why standest thou afar off? . . . Arise, O Lord; O God, lift up thine hand." Psa. x, 1, 12. Again he says: "The voice of the Lord is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty:" Psa. xxix, 4. And still again: "Bow down thine ear, O Lord, hear me." Psa. lxxxvi, 1. With a sublime conception of the divine personality, he says: "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled. . . . He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, and they smoke." Psa. civ, 29, 32. "Bow thy heavens, O Lord, and come down; touch the mountains, and they shall smoke. . . . Send thy hand from above." Psa. cxliv, 5, 7. Eliphaz asks, "Is not God in the height of heaven?" Job xxii, 12.

There can be no doubt that such conceptions are to be regarded as bold and brilliant figures of speech, compatible with the most spiritualized apprehensions of Deity; but they embody anthropomorphic adaptations which, like all other anthropomorphism, testify the mental limitations and habitudes of a human and finite being.

It must not be supposed that the forms of thought and speech of which we have quoted examples concealed from the ancient Hebrews all higher apprehensions of Deity.* The

* Tertullian says: "When God is spoken of as jealous, angry, etc., we must not liken these emotions to the same emotions in men." Moses Maimonides, a Jew of the twelfth century, maintained that the Jewish law, when deeply interpreted, was a revelation of the *highest truths*. (Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," i, 427.) We hold this to be a profound truth.

God of Abraham, Moses, and David was not only powerful and wise, but he was almighty. "In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth," is the first announcement of Scripture. Job, in the remotest age, confessed, "I know that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee." Job xlii, 2; comp. Job xxvi, xxvii, xxxvii, 2–23; xxxviii. So David, in the nation's meridian of existence, often adverted to God's omnipotence. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." Psa. xxxiii, 6; comp. Psa. civ, 1–32; cxxxvi, 5–9; clvi, 6, 10; Isa. xliii, 13; Jer. xxxii, 17. The Lord even possessed power over death: "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave." Psa. xliv, 15.

The Psalms repeatedly testify a knowledge of the eternity of God: "Of old thou hast laid the foundations of the earth. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure. . . . Thy years shall have no end." Psa. cii, 25–27. "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past." Psa. xc, 4. "Thy throne is established of old; thou art from everlasting." Psa. xciii, 2; comp. also Psa. xc, 2; cii, 27; Exod. iii, 14; Deut. xxxii, 40; xxxiii, 27; Jer. x, 10; Isa. lvii, 15; Hab. i, 12.

The omniscience and the omnipresence of God were also well understood, notwithstanding the Lord was vaunted as "a man of war." "Thou understandest my thought afar off," says David, . . . "There is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. . . . Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" etc. Psa. cxxxix, 2, 4, 7; comp. 1 Sam. xvi, 7; 1 Kings viii, 39; 1 Chron. xxviii, 9; Prov. v, 21; xv, 3; Isa. xl, 28; xlvi, 9; Ezek. xi, 5.

The infinitude of the divine attributes is recognized as unsearchable: "Canst thou by searching find out God?" "Touching the Almighty, I cannot find him out." Job xi, 7; xxxvi, 23; comp. Psa. cxlv, 3; Isa. xl, 17. The compassion of the Lord is again and again dwelt upon in the Psalms: "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart." "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Psa. xxxiv, 18; li, 17; comp. Psa. xxv, 6; xxxvi, 7; lxix, 16; lxxviii, 38; lxxxvi, 15; ciii, 13; cxlv, 8; Lam. iii, 22, 32, 33; Hosea xi, 8.

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As to the color of polytheism detected in many passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, it disappears entirely on a better understanding of the sense in which the gods of the other nations are mentioned. The Hebrew does not accord them supremacy, or even divinity; and he asserts the dominion of the Hebrew LORD over the recognized divinities of all other nations in every part of the world. "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols: worship Him, all ye gods." Psa. xcvii, 7; comp. Psa. cxxxvi, 2. "For the gods of all the nations are idols; but the Lord made the heavens." Psa. xcvi, 5; comp. Psa. cxv, 4–8. "God is the king of all the earth." Psa. xlviii, 7. "He cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." Psa. xcvi, 13.

To us the meaning of the worship of "strange gods" among the heathen is, simply, that they knew the one Supreme Ruler under Gentile names. In fact, the Deity which they worshiped was the sole Deity whom also the Hebrews adored. This grand fact in the philosophy of the ethnic religions the Hebrews had not discerned. They presumed that the Gentiles, in having no knowledge of the Hebrew LORD (JEHOVAH), were ignorant of the Supreme God altogether, and were given over to simple and meaningless idolatries.

As to the cruelties practiced by the Hebrews in the name of the Lord, they certainly indicate a low anthropomorphic apprehension of the character and government of the Divine Being, though without disguising altogether, as we have shown, the immanent sense of the divine spirituality and infinity. But such an apprehension belonged to the ages of the world through which their history extended, and is one of the numerous disclosures of the amount of truth disguised in the well-known, but somewhat profane, paradox that "every man makes his own God."* The cognition of the Supreme Deity is present in every soul alike; but each individual embodies

* "Each state of social culture," says Milman, has its characteristic theology, self-adapted to the intellectual and moral condition of the people, and colored, in some degree, by the habits of life." "It may be laid down as a principle, that the nearer the nation approaches to barbarism, the childhood of the human race, the more earthly are the conceptions of the Deity. The moral aspect of the divine nature seems gradually to develop itself with the development of the human mind."—See Milman's "History of Christianity," i, 27, 30.

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the divine intuition in such form as his intellectual status determines. So the crude anthropomorphism of the Jewish Scriptures, as Philo Judæus long ago pointed out, was only an accommodation to the wants of finite and sensuous man.

We have thus, by citations from the history of the most religious people who ever lived, and the people who had the truest and purest apprehension of the spirituality, unity, and infinity of the Supreme Being, furnished striking illustrations of our main thesis, that man's limitations condition his theistic and religious conceptions; and that no degree of crudeness or error should be allowed to dull our discernment of the deep-lying and essential identity of the theistic consciousness among all peoples, and under all religious forms.

Christianity was introduced with the explicit enunciation that "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." John iv, 24; comp. John i, 18; Col. i, 14; 1 Tim. vi, 16; Heb. xi, 27. Well established apprehensions of the divine supremacy and divine unity had now long been current, not only among the Jews, but among the more thoughtful pagans as well.* But the limitations of the human intellect had not been removed, and the tendency to lean upon material and anthropomorphic conceptions and forms did not cease to be manifest. In Rome, where the moral center of Christianity settled itself, and whence authority dictated to Alexandria and Constantinople, paganism, as it faded out, exhibited a partial blending with the new religion. Many an attempt was made to commend Christianity to heathen minds by partially paganizing it. It is said that not a few of the observances which grew up in the early Church were merely the disguised rites of the Roman religion. Thus, it is said the "Feriæ Augusti were continued in the Church as the Festival St. Petri ad vincula; that even to our own times an image of the Virgin was carried to the river in the same manner as in the old times was that of Cybele."† In the course of events, Mary came to be declared the

* For an ample discussion of the subject see Cudworth's "Intellectual System," vol. i, chap. iv; and for a condensed view, Cocker's "Christianity and Greek Philosophy," pp. 151–164, also chap. v, etc. (reviewed by the writer in "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1872): Pressensé's "Religion before Christ;" and Clemens Alexandrinus's "Stromata," especially Bk. I.

† Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 196. John Toland, in his "Nazarenus" (1718), sharply arraigns the Gentile Christians for the introduction

"Mother of God," as the Phrygian Cybele had long before been venerated as the "Mother of the gods;" and she was subsequently endued with omnipresence and omniscience, and prayers were offered to her, as they still are, from all places indiscriminately.

The extent of this conformity to pagan antecedents is impressively set forth in the following passages adapted from the second volume of the "Homilies" of the Church of England:

The Catholics form the same opinions of the saints whose images they worship as the heathens did of their gods, and employ the same outward rites in honoring their images as the heathens did in the religious veneration of their statues. Thus, as the heathens had their *tutelar gods*, such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians, Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians, and Vulcan to the Lemnians, so, also, the Catholics attribute the defense of certain countries to certain saints. Have not the saints, also, to whom the safeguard of particular cities is committed, the same office as the *dii præsides* of the heathens? Such as were at Delphi, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; and at Rome, Quirinus. And do not the saints to whom churches are built and altars erected correspond to the *dii patroni* of the heathens? Such as were in the Capitol, Jupiter; in the temple at Paphos, Venus; in the temple of Ephesus, Diana. Are not, likewise, our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, and the like, imitations of Diana Agrotera, Diana Coryphea, Diana Ephesia, Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia, and the like. The Catholics, too, have substituted for the marine deities, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, etc., St. Christopher, St. Clement, and others, and especially Our Lady, as she is called by them, to whom seamen sing *Ave Maris stella*. Neither has the fire escaped their imitation of the pagans. For instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the inspective guardians of fire according to the heathens, the Catholics have substituted St. Agatha, on the day of whose nativity they make letters for the purpose of extinguishing fire. Every artificer likewise, and profession, has a special saint in the place of a presiding god. Thus, scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory; painters, St. Luke; nor are soldiers in want of a saint corresponding to Mars; nor lovers, of one who is a substitute for Venus. All diseases, too, have their special saints instead of gods, who are invoked as possessing a healing power. Thus, the venereal disease has St. Roche; the falling sickness, St. Cornelius; the tooth-ache, St. Apollin, etc. Beasts and cattle,

of heathenish superstitions in their religion. The startling similarity between the rites and symbolism of the Church of Rome and those of oriental Buddhism is something quite notorious.

also, have their presiding saints, for St. Loy (says the "Homily") is the horse-leech, and St. Anthony the swine-herd, etc. . . . The rites and ceremonies of the papists in honoring and worshiping their images or saints are the same with the rites of the pagans. This is evident in their pilgrimages to visit images which had more holiness and virtue in them than others. In their candle-religion, burning incense, offering up gold to images, hanging up crutches, chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of war, before images, as though by them, or saints (as they say) they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck. In spreading abroad, after the manner of the heathens, the miracles that have accompanied images, such an image was sent from heaven, like the Palladium, or Diana of the Ephesians. Such an image was brought by angels—such a one came itself from the east to the west, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Some images, though they were hard and stony, yet, for tender heart and pity, wept. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's ass, who had life and breath in him. Such a cripple came and saluted the saint of oak, and by and by he was made whole, and here hangeth his crutch. Such a one in a tempest vowed to St. Christopher, and 'scaped, and behold here is his ship of war. Such a one by St. Leonard's help brake out of prison, and see where his fetters hang. And infinite thousands more miracles by like, or more shameless, lies were reported.*

In the early Christian Church, as in all times, the mind of man struggled perpetually to establish some intelligible means of ascent from humanity to the invisible and incomprehensible Deity. Hence the veneration of the Virgin as an intermedium between man and God. Hence the eons and the demiurges in that dreamy heresy known as Gnosticism. Hence, also, the eons and demons in that Parseeized offshoot of Christianity known as Manicheism. Hence cherubim, seraphim, and angels under the Jewish system. Hence vicegerents, saints, and confessors in the Church of modern Rome, as in Asiatic Buddhism. To say that such intermediaries have been used as aid to the infirmities of the human intellect is not to affirm the unreality of intermediate beings; since, whether real or unreal, it is obvious that the mind leans on them for relief from the oppressiveness of formless, unconcrete divinity.

There can be no doubt that the significance of paintings, images, crucifixes, censers, and beads is entirely analogous. They represent to the material sense, or at least vividly suggest, the spiritual reality which it is so hard for the finite mind

* Thomas Taylor, "Translation of Proclus," vol. i, intro., xli–xliii. Lond., 1816.

to grasp. Such is the meaning of accessories of attire, surplice and stole, miter and coronet. Withdrawn from common use and consecrated to religious associations, they bear the attention and the thoughts toward the thing signified; they are aids to human infirmity. Such, in short, is the bearing of fasts, feasts, penances, pilgrimages, rites and ordinances, dedications, consecrations and baptisms, in the spiritual and truthful worship of a Being who is himself a Spirit. None of this symbolism is to be denounced as essentially bad. Allegorical art has lent itself, in all ages, to the assistance of the common imagination in its efforts to attain clear conceptions of divine realities. There are few intellects so spiritualized as to be entirely independent of material forms and anthropomorphic conceptions as adjuncts to devotion. The struggle for such superiority over material conditions is the highest exercise of the oriental enthusiast; and the extent of the attainment in certain cases would seem an interesting subject of philosophic and physiological (psychological?) inquiry.

While anthropomorphic and material aids may become helpful to all, it is manifest that they are most essential with the uncultured and the ignorant. Such persons especially ought, therefore, to be allowed the benefit of these aids. Children and savage people under religious instruction should be freely supplied with the adjuncts of material symbolism. There always exists the liability (and here is the danger) of forgetting that such aids are merely intermediary, and that the reality is something which lies beyond, and should always be striven after with all the powers of the mind and soul. To lose sight of the spiritual meaning of these adjuncts is to degenerate into formalism, Mariolatry, picture-worship, and fetichism.

These considerations remind us of the philosophic interpretation of polytheism and idolatries among the heathen. Polytheism, as may be shown, does not exclude as pure a primacy as has been recognized by monotheistic Jew or Christian. The multitude of subordinate and intermediate beings belonging to the most populous pantheon is merely an exaggeration of accessories of the same essential kind as have been employed in all monotheistic religions. No religion ever existed which interposed a vacuum of being all the way from the Infinite to man. To say nothing of the *a priori* improbability of such a vacuum,

the religious nature revolts against the conception; it will not be walled away from the object of its longing by any such impassable gulf. Besides angels and archangels, other beings having the rank of gods were admitted by many distinguished representatives of early Christianity. Syncellus, the Platonic Bishop of Ptolemais in the fifth century, in his third hymn says:

Thee, Father of the worlds, Father of the eons, Artificer of the gods, it is holy to praise. Thee, O King! the intellectual gods sing; thee, O Blessed God, the *cosmagi* [κοσμαγοι, world-rulers], those fulgid eyes and starry intellects celebrate, round which the illustrious body [of the world] dances. All the race of the blessed sing thy praise, those that are about, and those that are in the world, the zonic gods [ζωνιοι, from the Chaldean theology], and also the azonic, *who govern the parts of the world.*

In another part of the same hymn he says: "I have supplicated the ministrant gods that possess the Thracian soil, and also those that, in an opposite direction, govern the Chalcedonian land." That the heavenly bodies were divine intelligences was believed by Jerome,* Origen,† Eusebius,‡ and Augustine, § as well as many mediæval theologians, and Kepler the astronomer. What St. Paul means by "principality and power and might and dominion" above which Christ is set "in the heavenly places" (Eph. i, 21; comp. Rom. viii, 38), is somewhat uncertain. St. Augustine‖ remarks that these words seem to "comprehend all the celestial society;" and Ignatius¶ speaks of "the angelic orders, the diversities of archangels and armies, the differences of the orders characterized by might and dominion, of thrones and powers, the magnificence of the eons, and the transcendency of cherubim and seraphim." Paul himself asserts the existence of other gods: "Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many, and lords many)." 1 Cor. viii, 5. It is not clear from this, however, that Paul intended to express his own opinion concerning the reality of other divinities.**

If man is not in connection with the Infinite Being through

* Jerome, "Exposition of Ecclesiastes," i, 6. † Origen, "De Principiis."
‡ Eusebius, "Theol. Solutions." § Augustine, "Enchiridion."
‖ Augustine, "Ad Laurentium," ch. lviii. ¶ Ignatius, "Epistola ad Trallianos."
** Further on intermediate beings, see the writings of Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Syrianus, Ammonius, Damascius, Olympiodorus, Simplicius, and numerous mediæval and modern writers.

a pleroma of intelligences, he demands, at least, some form and degree of mediation. Further than this, man's inability to comprehend the attributes of an Infinite Being has prompted him to recognize the various departments of the divine empire as apportioned to subordinate divinities; and these, the nearer in nature they approach to man, awaken the warmer and livelier sympathy between man and the power which controls his destiny. The culprit fears the hangman more than the king.

It seems certain that idols, images, and portraits of divinities among the heathen possess a significance entirely analogous. They are mere stepping-stones from man to the idea of God—all the more essential in primitive times and among uncultured peoples. They are things which can be comprehended. They obtrude themselves upon man's perceptions; they awaken his imagination, they stimulate his thoughts and elicit his religious sentiments. "Statues and altars," says the Emperor Julian, "and the preservation of unextinguished fire, and, in short, all such particulars, have been established by our fathers as symbols of the presence of the gods; *not that we should believe that these symbols are gods, but that through these we should worship the gods.* For, since we are connected with body, it is also necessary that our worship of the gods should be performed in a corporeal manner; but they are incorporeal"—and much more to the same effect.* Much of similar purport might be cited from Sallust the Neoplatonist,† Maximus Tyrius,‡ Plutarch,§ and others. Says Dr. Stillingfleet:

> Dio Chrysostom at large debates the case about images in his Olympic Oration, wherein he first shows that all men have a natural apprehension of one supreme God, the father of all things, and that this God was represented by the statue made by Phidias of Jupiter Olympius, for so he said, παρ' ῳ νῦν ἐσμεν, *before whom we now are;* and then describes him to be the king, ruler, and father of all, both gods and men. This image he calls the most blessed, the most excellent, the most beautiful, the most beloved image of God. . . . After this he supposes Phidias to be called to account for making such an image of God, as unworthy of him; when Iphitus, Lycurgus, and the old Eleans made none at all of him, as being out of the power of man to express his nature. To this Phidias replies that no man can

* Julian, in a fragment "On the Duties of a Priest."

† Sallust, "De Diis et Mundo." ‡ Tyrius, Dissertatio xxxviii.

§ Plutarch, "De Iside et Osiride."

express mind and understanding by figures or colors, and, therefore, they are forced to fly to that in which the soul inhabits, and from thence they attribute the seat of wisdom and reason to God, having nothing better to represent him by. And by that means, joining power and art together, they endeavor, by something which may be seen and painted, to represent that which is invisible and inexpressible. But, it may be said, we had better then have no image or representation of him at all. No, says he; for mankind doth not love to worship God at a distance, but to come near and feel him, and with assurance to sacrifice to him and crown him. Like children newly weaned from their parents, who put out their hands toward them in their dreams, as if they were still present, so do men, out of the sense of God's goodness and their relation to him, love to have him represented as present with them, and so to converse with him. Hence have come all the representations of God among the barbarous nations, in mountains, and trees, and stones.*

As to the views with which modern idolaters of intelligence perform their acts of worship in the presence of inanimate images, a few citations will prove instructive. Erskine says:

The learned Brahmins adore one God, without form or quality, eternal, unchangeable, and occupying all space; but they carefully confine these doctrines to their own schools as dangerous; and teach in public a religion in which, in supposed compliance with the infirmities and passions of human nature, the deity is brought more to a level with our prejudices and wants. The incomprehensible attributes ascribed to him are invested with sensible and even human forms. The mind, lost in meditation, and fatigued in the pursuit of something which, being divested of all sensible qualities, suffers the thoughts to wander without finding a resting-place, is happy, they tell us, to have an object on which human feelings and human senses may again find repose. To give a metaphysical Deity to ignorant and sensual men, absorbed in the cares of supporting animal existence, and entangled in the impediments of matter, would be to condemn them to atheism. Such is the mode in which the Brahmins excuse the gross idolatry of their religion.†

* Stillingfleet, answer to a book entitled "Catholics no Idolaters," page 414. Similarly, Jamblichus thought the statues of the gods endued with power derived from the divine presence, as many Platonists and Neoplatonists, down to modern times, have conceived the heavenly bodies to be animated by the presence of divinities dwelling in them.

† William Erskine, "Bombay Transactions," i, 199. Compare Colebrooke, "Asiatic Researches," viii, 279, 396, and quotations in Bohlen, "Das alte Indien," i, 153; Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," i, 27–39, etc., and "History of Sanskrit Literature;" Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde;" J. Muir, "Sanskrit Texts;" W. W. Hunter, "Annals of Rural Bengal," 116.

From M. Bernier we learn that when at the University of Benares he reproached one of the learned men with idolatry, and asked an explanation. His respondent said:

"We have, indeed, in our temples many different statues, etc. . . . But we do not believe these statues to be Brahma, etc., themselves, but only their images and representations, and we only give them that honor on account of the beings they represent. They are in our temples, because it is necessary, in order to pray well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind. And when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it." *

Of similar purport we find the testimony of another modern Hindu, "a gentleman of high caste," protesting concerning the idols employed in his worship. Babu Amrita Lal Roy, speaking of the Hindu family worship, says:

Many families, longing for some visible object to represent the Deity, bring from the river-side a small black stone and lay it on the sacred stool. The weight of this stone expresses to them strength and solidity. It helps them to think of the substantial force and power of the Infinite. This may stand for what among the white races is known as an Indian idol. Every Hindu knows that the various images we use to represent the supernatural are not God, but each thing represents some quality of the Supreme Being. Christians think with reverence of their Bible, though they know it is made of paper which was rags. Just so a Hindu treats with reverence one of his idols. He knows it is clay, or stone, or wood, and no more God than paper rags; but, like the Bible, his piece of clay or stone helps him to think of God. †

Heathenism, indeed, has sometimes forgotten that these ancillaries to devotion are but symbols. The poor Hottentot may venerate his fetich with the most devout belief that the Supreme Spirit, whose presence he feels, is embodied in the worthless stick before which he trembles. The ignorant Buddhist may bow in the presence of his idol as unmindful as the Jew before his shekinah that metal and wood have no power to control human destiny. So the ignorant Greek, undoubtedly, sometimes fell before the image of Athene with devotion as unreserved as that experienced by the ignorant papist in kneeling before the image of Mary.

The views here set forth enable us to contemplate in the proper light the constantly manifested tendency of certain

* Bernier, "Memoires," tome iii, 171. † "Dio Lewis's Monthly," 1883.

schools of Protestantism to hold on to the symbolism of abandoned papacy, or even to revert into the mother Church. Visible forms and imposing ceremonies invented or adapted from paganism, as aids to devotion, when European civilization was in its infancy, are still as agreeable and as necessary as ever to minds in an infantile or sensualistic stage of culture, or in which the religious sentiments bear a large ratio to the intellectual powers. These terms are not employed in a reproachful sense. Viewing human condition as it is, it may be the part of wisdom to condescend to capacities impervious to abstractions, and keep alive the sense of immanent divinity and inexorable duty by an impressive amount of pomp and sensible symbolism. In the lowest stratum of popular politics the same principle is strikingly exemplified, especially in America. An eloquent or argumentative presentation of political doctrine may convince a hundred; but a political log-cabin or a rustic rail-splitter in a procession will settle the convictions of a thousand.

All these symbols and acts prompted by the religious nature of man are worthy of our profound respect and most philosophic study. Undoubtedly, when properly analyzed and interpreted, they will be found witnesses of the universality of a profound spiritual monotheism ingrained in the constitution of the human soul, and will teach us charity and justice in contemplating the contrast between our own religion and that of the less fortunate representatives of our species. They will show us, at least, that anthropomorphism is a necessary element in every human system, not less in religion than in government, philosophy, and science; and that it is no reproach to the religion of a people to discover it anthropomorphic unless there can be shown a degree of anthropomorphism which is incongruous with the intellectual grade and *cultus* of the people.

Every degree of anthropomorphism is a falling short of adequate and worthy apprehension of divine relations. It is, therefore, determined by limitations of intelligence. These may be either constitutional and irremediable, or cultural and remediable. If the former, we must be content with a religion permanently adjusted to the limitations. If the latter, we may address ourselves to the culture of the intelligence and the enlargement of its comprehension of the natural world. The processes of religious education must not, then, be, under all

circumstances, the same. We must condescend to the intelligence of the child and the childlike intelligence of the savage. The mind of the child will expand with age and education, that of the savage, in spite of a low receptivity for culture, will remain permanently childish, and any religious doctrine suited to his condition must be permanently anthropomorphic. On the contrary, the intelligent heathen and the uneducated member of Christianized society lack culture. In the effort to impart improved religious conceptions the intellect requires expansion and furniture. The heathen Hindu or Chinaman is not to be approached in the same way as the degraded Dyak or the Kroo.

If, then, the adequacy of our conception of divine things is conditioned by cultural as well as constitutional intelligence, we see how intimately connected are education and an exalted type of religion, and how inseparable are ignorance and superstition, bigotry, idolatries, fetichism, and other forms of anthropomorphism, and how deeply interested are the higher interests of religion in the progress of ideas which furnish and enlarge the intelligence.

Art. III.—THE FINAL OUTCOME OF SIN.

The Gospel is the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ. In it God reveals his method of saving men; and there is no other method of which we know any thing whereby they can be saved. What, then, is to become of those who obey not the Gospel?

This awful question cannot be settled by reason alone, for we have not sufficient data on which to base conclusions; neither can it be decided by experience, for as yet the rewards and punishments of the future are but truths in man's intellect, not facts in his history. Still less can we decide it by our instincts or desires. We are not at liberty to reject a truth because we do not like it. All we know, or can know, in this life, about this doctrine, must come from revelation; for only one who has been behind the veil, and knows the end from the beginning, can speak with authority. If, then, we would avoid

mistakes which all eternity cannot rectify, we must listen reverently to what God the Lord hath spoken.

Within the past few years the doctrine of future—especially eternal—punishment has been widely discussed. A good deal of vehement rhetoric has been expended in denouncing the doctrine as derogatory to the Divine character, thus presenting the awful spectacle of sinful, short-sighted men sitting in judgment on their Maker, and presuming to settle what is and what is not becoming in the administration of his government. So, in former times, men vehemently denied that the earth revolved around the sun; but in spite of all their clamor the earth still swept onward in its orbit: and so, regardless of men's reckless denunciations, God's mighty truths will march onward to the accomplishment of his vast designs.

It is worthy of note that those who denounce the doctrine of eternal punishment fight very shy of Scripture. But what else could be expected, since the texts which, to say the least, *seem* to teach the doctrine are so numerous and plain that it is very difficult to make them mean any thing else; while the few that are pressed into service to buttress up the notions of "annihilation" or "restoration," give an uncertain testimony, and afford only a feeble support. And yet, in all fairness, it must be admitted that the objections of the more thoughtful opponents of this solemn truth do not lie so much against the doctrine as taught in the Scriptures as against that monstrous perversion of it which at one period was almost universally accepted throughout Christendom.

In the present paper we limit the discussion to the case of those who have heard the Gospel; with the heathen we have, at present, nothing to do. Our inquiry respects only what is the final outlook for those who, from the sound of a preached Gospel, and the presence of a crucified Christ, go unsaved to death and the judgment.

There are certain truths in reference to which it may be assumed that all believers in revelation hold common ground. All believe in divine government and law; in the probationary character of man's present state; in a final judgment, when the good shall be rewarded and the wicked shall be punished. But just here, in regard to the nature and duration of the

punishment, there begins to be a divergence of opinion. This is the point on which we desire light. Is the punishment of the wicked to last forever? or shall it cease at length in restoration to the divine favor, or in utter extinction of being? To put it in the incisive words of inspiration, "What shall the end be ['the ultimate destiny'] of them that obey not the Gospel of God?".

Shall it be a Second Probation?

A second probation implies that men may be saved through some other medium than the death and intercession of Jesus Christ. The Scriptures clearly teach that now the government of the world is in the hands of a Mediator; but at the end of man's probation as a race, Jesus will ascend the throne of judgment, bestow rewards and assign punishment, and, having put down all antagonistic authority and power, will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father. 1 Cor. xv, 24–28. Then the mediation of Christ will cease, and the name of Jesus will no longer be available as a sinner's plea. If, therefore, a sinner can be forgiven and saved during a second probation, it must be on other conditions and by other means than those available in the present life; and if by other means and on other grounds than the death and intercession of the Son of God, then it appears that the death of Jesus was uncalled for and a terrible mistake. For if God can forgive and save a sinner in a future state without a Saviour, he can in this.

Perhaps the advocates of a second probation would say, that this is not their meaning; that, instead of expecting probations for all beyond the judgment, they only claim that in the interval between death and the judgment those who had no chance in this life—who never heard of a Saviour's love, who were surrounded from infancy by the darkness of heathenism—will have an opportunity of hearing and accepting the Gospel.

If this be what is meant by a second probation, it does not touch the class whose case we are now considering, namely, those who heard the Gospel but did not obey it. The ground of their condemnation will be, that, being illuminated, they loved "darkness rather than light, because" their "deeds" were "evil." And even in regard to the heathen the claim is

irrelevant; for they will not be judged by the law of a Gospel revelation, but by "the law written in their hearts."

To claim a second probation is to charge God with a want of fairness in his dealings, since it implies that a sufficient chance has not been given to some in a first probation. But observe, the condemnation is not that they did not *know* the Gospel, but that knowing it they did not *obey*. That which God requires of every man is, that he follow promptly and faithfully the light he has; and surely, upon the very face of it, in respect to that all men have an equal chance. If the heathen are condemned, it is not because they did not believe on Jesus, of whom they had never heard, but because "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." And if the heathen, who have only the light of nature and the natural conscience, are without excuse, much more they who have the light of divine revelation in the person and teachings of Jesus Christ.

A second probation could not bring within our reach any more potent agencies than those now employed. God does not bring men to himself by a force which compels the will, but by appeals to motives the most powerful that can influence human conduct; and yet even these may be effectually resisted. Is belief of the Gospel necessary to salvation? And will there be a new gospel preached "unto the spirits in prison" whose truths will be more effective than those of the "Gospel of the grace of God?" Certainly a divine Saviour is the only object of saving faith; and we are not told of any other Christ who, in the other world, can bid the sinner "look and live." The divine Spirit is the only power that can awaken the conscience and renew the heart, and that Spirit operates among men here and now; but we have no hint in Scripture that he carries on his renewing work in the world to come. And if these mighty agencies fail, in any instance, to bring men to repentance here, what reason have we to believe the same agencies—or others, if such are conceivable—will be more successful there? On the contrary, the probabilities of salvation during a second probation, if such were afforded, would be vastly less than during a first, for every unsaved man would enter that second probation with hardened sensibilities, with

the sins of a first probation already in his way, and with the increased difficulties arising from matured badness of character, and fixed habits of resisting the Spirit of God.

But, it is contended, the advantage of a second probation would be this: In the spirit-world the supreme importance of salvation would be so clearly seen and so deeply felt that men would then yield to the Spirit of God and be saved. But this assumes that there are means of convincing men more powerful than the truth and Spirit of God; whereas Christ himself says, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." It is not more light and pressure from *without* that men need, but simply willingness *within*.

The doctrine of a second probation implies, that its chances shall be interminable; for no better reasons could be assigned for punishing an impenitent sinner at the end of a second probation than at the end of a first, while with each succeeding term of probation the probabilities of the salvation of the impenitent would be inconceivably lessened. There is a universal tendency among men to "neglect the great salvation," and one of the most powerful motives to dissuade them from this fatal mistake is furnished by the near approach of the day when they are taught to believe that life and opportunity shall cease together. Hold out to the impenitent sinner the prospect of a second probation, and the force of this motive is largely neutralized; for the great majority of unconverted men would desire nothing better than to continue as they are through an unending probation.

Above all, there is no hint in Scripture that men will have a second probation; but instead, all that it says on the subject of man's destiny points in an opposite direction. He is exhorted to "flee from the wrath to come," and "lay hold on eternal life;" he is warned that the barren ground "is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned;" he is assured that "*now* is the accepted time; behold, *now* is the day of salvation;" he is summoned, as it were in advance, to the judgment, and hears the voice of Christ saying, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels"—as though to remind him that the opportunity for "works meet for repentance" would cease the moment he should leave this

world. And from all these words of solemn warning this is the appeal that comes to our hearts to-day—"See that ye refuse not him that speaketh." "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."

Shall it be Annihilation?

The theory that the final destiny of the unsaved will be their utter annihilation, blotting them out of being, has been much pressed of late; but it seems to be only a blind attempt to escape from a perverted notion of the doctrine of everlasting punishment. The somber theology of a by gone day has conjured up a horrid demon before which many have recoiled in terror, and have sought refuge in the theory of the utter extinction of being. The theory is grounded in materialism—the denial of man's natural immortality. It is contended that man, whatever may have been his primitive endowments, in consequence of sin became mortal in soul as well as in body; that eternal life, in the sense of immortality, belongs only to those who believe in Jesus Christ, and all others are doomed to ultimate annihilation. Some appear to hold that this extinction of being takes place at death; while others hold that it occurs only after a long period of suffering subsequent to the final judgment. But it matters little which view is presented, since both are alike repugnant to reason and Scripture. It is seen that the passages which teach a resurrection of both good and bad are too numerous and plain to be set aside; but a theory has been propounded to the effect that though the sinner dies, soul and body, like the brutes, and there is an end of him, yet God, in some miraculous way, keeps some part of him alive till the judgment day, when the body is raised and reunited with the soul, and then he is to be tormented in such a manner and for such a time as may seem good to divine justice, after which he is to be blotted out of the universe. To this view there are, beyond its materialistic grotesqueness, strong and apparently unanswerable objections.

Belief in immortality has been almost universal from the earliest ages. The Egyptians believed it, and taught the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. So in Assyria, in Greece, and in India, the idea of immortality prevailed, and was a potent factor in the religious life of the world. In India

this thought of immortality, apart from any knowledge of a Saviour, was so terrible that they sought refuge in the doctrine of a final painless absorption of the human spirit into the Supreme. Here, then, we have, long before Gospel times, a belief in immortality well-nigh universal, and this universality of the idea proves it to be one of those primal truths inwoven with the very fibers of our being by the God who made us, —an inward and unanswerable intuitive conviction that while the body is subject to death and decay, there is that within us which survives alike the flight of time and the ravages of sickness, and which shall still endure when all earthly things have passed away. It is nowhere said that the Gospel originated the doctrine of immortality, but that it was brought to light by the Gospel; brought out of the dim region of guesses, and hopes, and inferences, into the clear light of plain revelation. And yet we are sometimes told that this is a new doctrine, and that the almost universal belief in it that preceded Christianity was but a delusion and a dream; and that the heathen had dreamed out a grander idea of man's nature and destiny than the Scriptures have revealed; that the Bible which proclaims that the Incarnate God died for man, also declares that the race for whom he died are but a race of perishable brutes!

If we are reminded that the Hebrew term for soul covers alike the soul of man and the physical life of animals, and therefore they must belong to the same order, the inference is a gratuitous one; for there are found in the Scriptures other statements concerning man's nature and destiny which mark him off as something entirely distinct and different from the irrational brutes. In the first chapter of Genesis we read that the earth brought forth the living creature after his kind; but respecting man's origin God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness:" and so "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." The psalmist, evidently with that record in his mind, declares that God made man "a little lower than the angels," and "crowned him with glory and honor;" a statement that would be absurd if applied to the brutes.

The Scriptures constantly assume the immortality of the soul

as a doctrine so manifest, and so fundamental to religion, that it needs no proof. Materialists and Annihilationists often tell us that the immortality of the soul is nowhere expressly asserted in Scripture. Perhaps not; neither is the existence of God. Moses, in the first verse of Genesis, does not prove nor even assert the existence of God, but, assuming that as an indisputable truth, he begins with the announcement that "God created the heaven and the earth." The same is true in regard to the doctrine of immortality: it is every-where assumed as a truth having all the force of an axiom. The whole Jewish mind was saturated with the idea of immortal life. It was a truth universally regarded as beyond dispute. And if any one shall say these were the utterances, and these the experiences, of believers, all of whom have immortal life in Christ, the answer is ready. He who knew all the secrets of the invisible world, for he had been there, has lifted the veil and shown us the truth. Listen to his words: "The rich man also died and was buried; and in hell (*hades*) he lifted up his eyes, being in torments." This man was not saved in Christ, and yet he lives on in conscious existence beyond death and burial. There stands God's truth, and it will be a swift witness against the unbelieving in the great day.

The terms used in Scripture to describe the future doom of the wicked do not convey the idea of annihilation, but quite the contrary. Suppose it to be true that in Scripture a term is sometimes used to describe the doom of the wicked, the ordinary meaning of which is destruction, this is just what might be expected. When "holy men of old" were "moved by the Holy Ghost" to speak concerning the future of the wicked, they were not supplied with a new vocabulary in which to utter their conceptions; they used terms with which they were already familiar, "enlarging their meanings to the measure of that larger world." The Christian revelation has given new meanings to such words as "life" and "death," "salvation" and "destruction," according to the requirement of the subject in hand. Take, for example, these sayings of Christ: "If a man keep my sayings he shall never see death;" "He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." This last was spoken after the death of Lazarus, who had suffered natural death, and was destined to suffer it again. The word

"death" is used here not in its literal but with a spiritual meaning.

Again, it is contended by some that men can have immortality only in Christ, and that all who are not in him shall perish in the sense of ceasing to be. This fundamental error arises from confusion in the use of terms, making "life" synonymous with mere "existence." We know that "the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ." But the "gift" which the believer receives is not a merely historical immortality. All men have that in the very nature with which God has endowed them; but the believer receives that gift which lifts *existence* into LIFE, and makes eternal being a source of endless and unspeakable joy. Then it must be remembered that most Annihilationists hold that man does not utterly cease to be at death, but that some part of him—enough, perhaps, to identify him at the resurrection—is kept in existence by God, through the long, lingering ages preceding the judgment; that then the soul and body, being reunited, shall suffer horrible torments through a period the duration of which no man can tell; and when they have suffered long enough to satisfy divine justice, they shall sink into utter annihilation. But, waiving any notice of this horrible grotesqueness, that something which lives on must be some part of the man; and so there is some part of him which survives the shock of death, and may survive forever.

The word "death" is, in this use of it, sadly misinterpreted and misapplied. It is assumed that in the declaration "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," physical death is referred to; and that although man did eat the forbidden fruit, the law was suspended by the introduction of a redemptive scheme. On the contrary, we say, in the day that man transgressed he died, in the sense in which God had used the term. He lost his true life, the life of God in the soul. Death, in the sense of physical dissolution, is a universal law of nature, and therefore is not the penalty of sin. The Scriptures nowhere assert that the *cause* of (natural) death is sin, though they declare that the *sting* of death is. We do not forget that St. Paul says, "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin," nor that other awful declaration, "the wages of sin is death;" but we also remember what so many seem to have forgotten, or never knew, that the main thought in these passages is not

physical dissolution at all, but that infinitely more terrible thing, the loss of the divine life—the death which reveals itself in trespasses and sins.

It has been supposed by some able teachers that but for the interposition of a redemptive scheme a sentence of literal death would have been executed upon the first transgressors, and thus the human race would have become extinct. This also is a mere assumption, growing out of a false interpretation of the term "death." If the interposition of a Saviour could alone prevent the extinction of a sinful race, how comes it that the devil and his angels have not been annihilated? And still further, had no Saviour been provided, the extinction of the human race would have been an act of mercy rather than of judgment, since the perpetuation of a sinful race without a Saviour would have been only an unmitigated curse, and wholly incompatible with God's righteousness.

This doctrine becomes increasingly repugnant when viewed in the light of redeeming love. The promise of a Divine Incarnation for human redemption dates back to the time of man's first sin; but the theory to which we now refer presents the awful spectacle of the mighty God becoming incarnate to confer immortality upon a race—or part of a race—of brutes, while the marvelous expenditure of Calvary was for the redemption of one "whom a brick-bat might extinguish in an instant." O! if immortality were not natural and inalienable in man would it not have been infinitely more merciful to have suffered the race to become extinct at the fountain-head than to bestow upon them a fresh lease of an existence that to multitudes would prove only a terrible curse? But if immortality is man's native endowment, inseparable from his being, then we begin to see why such mighty agencies were put in operation to save him from self-wrought and eternal ruin, and we see some fitness in the wondrous story that "God so loved the world." In a spirit of reverent thankfulness to God, we assert that there was something seen in the human race that called for the divine care for them. They were his children, and though wayward and rebellious he loved them still. His image was still in them, though now marred and defaced; and to restore that image, and bring back the wandering children, the Son of God stooped from heaven to earth, and became the Son of man.

May it not be Restoration after a Limited Period of Punishment?

The theory of "restoration" is based on the assumption that suffering can do for man that which Christ failed to accomplish, forgetting that punishment is the result of neglecting the only way of salvation, and not itself a means of salvation. If the theory is true that suffering can save men, we are at once confronted by the awful spectacle of rival saviours, and our ears catch the echo of rival songs of praise among the redeemed. "A great multitude that no man can number" sing, "Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his blood, . . . to him be glory both now and forever," and another multitude, perhaps equally great, sing, "Unto the penal fires that burned out our sins, be glory, both now and forever." But John in the vision of Patmos did not hear this latter song. Those who teach the theory of restoration seem to entirely misapprehend the design and also the effects of punishment. They appear to suppose that it is always and every-where corrective, and designed for reformation; never retributive. On the contrary, the idea of retribution enters, to some extent, into every kind and form of punishment, whether inflicted by God or man, in this world or the next.

There are three aspects of punishment which cover the whole ground. It is either (1) Corrective, the object of which is the reformation of the offender; or, (2) Preventive, the object being to deter others from sinning; or, (3) Retributive, the object of which is to inflict deserved penalty upon the guilty. To these three aspects of punishment there are, in the universe, three corresponding powers: (1) The Family, where punishment, as to its design, is chiefly corrective; (2) The State, whose punishments are chiefly deterrent or preventive; (3) The Day of Judgment, whose punishments are retributive. In God's dealings with men all these three aspects appear; but in this life the first two are the more prominent. He "chastises" his children, not for his pleasure but for their profit, that they may be "partakers of his holiness," and even then only when they have offended. Such, however, are not purely retributive punishments, but also fatherly corrections, which in the end yield "the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them that are

exercised (reformed) thereby." But in his dealings with the perversely rebellious, we perceive a marked difference from both of the former. There the retributive element is the ruling one, and not uncommonly it is "judgment without mercy." When God punished the antediluvian world with a universal deluge, there was no promise of subsequent restoration to his favor. When he overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, the baptism of penal fire had in it no corrective element. It was "judgment without mercy;" and it is presented by an apostle as a significant indication of the principle upon which the divine government proceeds. And the same is afterward more largely declared: "He that despised Moses's law died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?" But it must be observed that it is only upon the impenitent that God inflicts the "sorer punishment." He who yields to the calls of mercy finds forgiveness; but he who passes unsaved beyond the boundary of this life's probation has no promise that he shall find place for repentance, though he seek it carefully, with tears. Sufferings, though endured for ages, cannot constitute the lost soul more worthy of divine favor than before, seeing that the evil nature still remains unchanged. "The Lord knoweth how to . . . . reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished;" but no hint is given that he reserves them to be restored to favor when the punishment is over; and without some such intimation is it to be presumed that such is his purpose?

But where is the proof that punishment will have in the future life the power that seems to be claimed for it to deter men from sin? Wicked men are often punished in this life, and yet they, in most cases, continue to run greedily after sin. The libertine receives in himself the recompense of his sin, but is not thereby reformed. The drunkard suffers, in health, estate, and character, but still he continues in his sinful indulgences, unsaved by his sufferings.

The theory we are noticing assumes that man can exhaust the curse and penalty of sin, and afterward rise to purity and heaven; but if so, there is for such cases salvation by another

name than that of Christ. The Scriptures, on the contrary, teach that when the sinner is cast into prison "he shall in no wise come out thence till he has paid the uttermost farthing;" while as to his ability, it is declared he has "nothing" wherewith "to pay." Those who hold this theory forget that sin is a self-perpetuating evil, and that man cannot escape its curse unless sin itself is destroyed. Let it be steadily kept in mind that punishment cannot destroy sin; that only divine grace can do that; and the sinner who passes unsaved into the spirit-world goes where he has no promise that grace can ever reach him. If the penalty of sin could be exhausted by suffering, punishment would cease to be retribution; it would then become a means of grace. But of this no hint is given in the teachings of the word of God. The punishment of the future is "the wages of sin," and not a moral force by which a lapsed soul can be restored to holiness and the favor of God.

If, however, we assume the possibility of restoration, how, in the nature of things, is it to be brought about? Shall it be by the mere fiat of Omnipotence? "The divine government," a distinguished author wisely remarks, "is not a series of isolated arbitrary acts, but a vast net-work of correlated principles, wide and lasting as the universe, in which sin and punishment stand to each other as cause and effect. It is in the nature of sin to tend to perpetuate itself, and to produce misery. This process is a matter of natural and moral law. To cut off by the sheer force of omnipotence the proper effect of sin, and cause it to be followed by eternal joy, would not only be an abrupt break in the course of natural law, but a violent wrench of moral relations, forcibly making sin the precursor of happiness, which would not be less violent than to make piety the precursor of wretchedness. If a simple fiat of divine authority might empty the bottomless pit, why not a similar fiat have obviated the necessity for the humiliation of the divine Son in the redemption of mankind? And why might not such a fiat have prevented all the agonies and inconveniences ever incurred by sin?"

Still more difficult is it to conceive that any thing in the circumstances or surroundings of a fallen spirit can effect its restoration. Suffering and misery are the results of sin, and while the sin continues the suffering must endure. If the sin-

ning were to cease the moment the soul entered the spirit-world, the idea of exhausting sin's penalty, though still unwarranted, might not appear so hopeless; but if sin perpetuates itself in this life, despite all remedial influences, much more will it do so when all those influences are withdrawn; and thus unending sin carries with it unending suffering as its inevitable corollary. The impenitent sinner goes into "outer darkness," to the "worm" that "dieth not," and to the "fire" that "shall not be quenched." Though we grant that these are but figures of speech, they are not suggestive of any thing that could produce in the sufferers "repentance unto salvation," or create one solitary aspiration after a better life. It may be accepted as an axiom that a thing cannot communicate what it does not possess; and surely in the surroundings of a lost soul there is nothing that can purify the conscience or deliver from the guilt of sin.

Nor yet—taking the New Testament for our guide—are we permitted to suppose that a lost soul can, in the other world, be restored through the mediation of Jesus Christ. The inestimable value of that mediation here and now is pressed upon our attention in a thousand ways; but no hint is given that it will avail any thing in the world to come. The very urgency of the Gospel message indicates that this life is the crisis-hour of human existence, into whose brief compass are crowded opportunities that can never be elsewhere enjoyed. If this were not so—if beyond this life there were even remote possibilities of salvation—the intensely earnest invitations, warnings, and entreaties of the Gospel would sound like solemn mockeries. When the one talent was taken from the unprofitable servant it was not to be restored; when the hopeless debtor, who owed "ten thousand talents," was "delivered to the tormentors," it was a sentence of perpetual imprisonment; when the foolish virgins came with the despairing cry, "Lord, Lord, open to us," the door stubbornly refused to open, while from within came the death-knell of departing hope, "Verily I say unto you, I know you not."

It Shall Be Punishment.

The Scriptures teach "that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust" (Acts xxiv, 15);

that following the resurrection there shall be a judgment, when "every one" shall "receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." This teaching commends itself to every enlightened conscience. That goodness should be rewarded and wickedness punished harmonizes with the eternal fitness of things. In every man good or evil predominates; but as all men are free agents, good or evil must be voluntary. Goodness merits reward; badness deserves punishment. And if goodness has a reward beyond the grave, shall not wickedness also receive punishment hereafter? There is a future state of reward for the righteous: ought there not to be a future state of punishment for the wicked?

That the punishment of the lost soul shall be exceedingly terrible we infer, not from poetic images and dramatic pictures in hymns and epics, but from the clear and solemn statements of the word of God. The most terrible utterances in the New Testament concerning the punishment of the lost came from the lips of Him whose pitying tenderness brought him from heaven to earth to die for the sins of mankind. Such words from his lips are not mere rhetoric, but sober statements of solemn realities. If it is claimed that Christ's words are figurative, and should not be interpreted literally, it must be remembered that figures imply realities, and in a case like this, because the spiritual transcends the natural, it is reasonable to presume that the reality is far more dreadful than the figure by which it is set forth. It is idle to speculate as to whether the punishment shall be corporeal or wholly spiritual; it is enough to know that something unspeakably dreadful must be intended when it can be best represented by the gnawing of a worm that never dies, and the burning of a fire that shall not be quenched.

But the eternity of this punishment is the aspect of the doctrine most frequently controverted. It seems to some a terrible thing that for the sins of the present life man should suffer through all the ages of the unending future. But it must be remembered that the sufferings of the lost are a result as well as a penalty, and that these sufferings largely grow out of the character which the sinner forms in this life, and with which he enters the future life. This is in perfect accord with the principle, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" he

shall reap *that*—not something else instead of that; and "the harvest is the end of the world." There is a terrible inexorableness in what are called the "laws of nature," which is but another name for the laws of God, the expression of the divine character. Those laws are in their purpose beneficent, and with the obedient they invariably work for beneficent ends; but when resisted, disobeyed, defied, they must, because they are righteous, remorselessly punish whatsoever or whosoever stands in the way. If a man puts himself in deliberate antagonism to God and his laws he must suffer the consequences, and if in this life he forms a character which puts him in such eternal antagonism he must suffer eternal consequences.

The words of Christ on this awful theme are distinct and unequivocal: "these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Some have tried, by reckless verbal criticism, to neutralize the force of the declaration, and assert that the words translated "eternal" and "everlasting" do not signify duration without end; but every competent scholar knows that in the Scriptures they always have that meaning unless limited by other words, or by the circumstances of the case. The eternity of God, and the duration of the blessedness of the righteous, are expressed by these words. If, therefore, the punishment of the wicked is not to be eternal, then God himself is not eternal, and the reward of the righteous must terminate, and the heaven of heavens shall pass away. Sometimes the doctrine is opposed by arguments drawn, or supposed to be drawn, from the nature and attributes of God. It is said, "God is love," and it is declared to be incredible that he will consign millions of beings to endless torment for the sins of the present life; that such punishment would imply vindictiveness, which is utterly foreign to his nature. But is the law that dooms the assassin unjust? and are they who execute its sentence vindictive, in the bad sense of that word? The penalties of the law are its vindication, and without that iniquity, and not righteousness, would hold sway. The idea of banishment from God is the most dreadful element in the punishment of the lost. Because they choose to be without God in this world, they are in the future world banished from God. "This is the second death."

Art. IV.—SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES.

[First Paper.]

Louis de Carné, who was connected, as political representative, with the French exploring expedition of 1866–68, in reporting concerning its results, wrote: "Perspectives full of the deepest interest and attraction open from Saigon beyond the mountains of Tonquin, over the fertile and healthy countries of Western China and Thibet. Fortune, which has so often made us pay for her favors of a day by lasting betrayal, appears to have become less cruel." This passage sufficiently indicates the ulterior motive which has guided France in establishing herself in Tonquin and in the consequent prolonged military operations, it being none other than possession of the commerce and supposed great mineral wealth of South-western and Western China. The direct origin and development of the "Tonquin affair," the conflict with Annam, and the larger conflict with China itself, have been well sketched by the animated pen of Dr. Wentworth in the March number of this Review, and we are thus spared the space required for a detailed reference to that subject, which, in part at least, is legitimately connected with our theme.

By a recent diplomatic arrangement with native Burmah, but vaguely known to the world at date of the present writing, France has acquired a pretended claim upon a portion of the northern Shan States, which were indeed formerly tributary to Burmah, but have of late years been substantially independent. This territory nearly borders upon Tonquin. Such an advance into the interior, from the colony on the south, is foreshadowed in another passage from De Carné: "Now that we are finally settled in Indo-China, our honor demands that the people of the interior should learn to know our name as those of the coast have already, and that England should be no longer imagined by these ignorant races to be the only western power." M. Blanscubé, the French delegate from the province of Cochin China, who moved the bill in favor of the recent Tonquin expedition, has also with great plainness of speech announced at Paris what may be readily supposed to be an

acceptable programme of future policy for France in its new colony. He says: "The mountains which separate the basin of the Menam from that of the Mekong divide the vast peninsula into two parts almost equal. All the western parts belong directly or indirectly to England; the eastern portion must belong to France." The scheme here presented, together with what we shall notice of recent exploration on the side of British Burmah, open before us as a subject of great interest the prospect, in our day, for the vigorous commercial development, under European direction, of Farther India, which was probably the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy, or the "Golden Chersonese." The fabulous notions which have prevailed in subsequent ages as well, concerning the wealth of this land in gold and other precious metals, will doubtless be shown to have but moderate foundation in reality; but a more than golden hope will dawn upon it should the political and commercial rivalry of England and France be providentially overruled, notwithstanding censurable acts of selfish aggression and violence, to bind it together with Western China in the bonds of an advanced Christian civilization.

As is well known, the present eagerness of France to possess territory and establish a commercial colony in Tonquin arose in an unforeseen manner from the results of the expedition sent to explore the river Mekong. Though the original purpose and ardent hope of the expedition to open by this river a grand route for commerce with Western China proved, by observations on the character of the stream, an entire failure, it is in place here, especially in view of present occurrences which call attention to the different States of the peninsula, to give some brief account of this heroic and interesting achievement. Such an exploration was originally proposed by Garnier in 1863, but the authorities at Saigon were then without sufficient preparatory knowledge of the country. In 1865, the plan was definitely formed at Paris through the influence of the Marquis Chasseloup de Laubat, Minister of Marine, and the Admiral de la Grandière, Governor of Cochin China, who spent some months of that year in France. M. Doudard de Lagrée was chosen to command the expedition. He had been sent, in 1863, to the court of Cambodia at Pnompenh, where he in the same year succeeded in negotiating the treaty which placed that

kingdom under the protection of France, and where he remained to gain all accessible information about Cambodia and the countries lying to the north of it which were tributary to Siam. In character he was eminently fitted to gain the confidence of the various peoples with whom the expedition might come in contact, and also to inspire his associates with courage and devotion. His lieutenant was Marie Joseph François Garnier, the astronomer of the expedition, a young man of brilliant parts and great bravery, whose fate in the action in Tonquin, December 7, 1873, is well known. The Viscount Louis de Carné represented the Foreign Office. He was a talented writer who could well set forth the impressions, aims, and hopes of the expedition, but was destined to meet an early death at Paris in 1870, resulting from disease contracted in the Laos country. Messieurs Delaporte, Joubert, and Thorel were respectively the artist, geologist, and botanist of the company, the latter also being the authority in anthropology. Passports were obtained from Bangkok, Hué, and Peking, either at once or after some portion of the journey had been made. Application to the Burmese court at Ava failed. The expedition set out from Saigon June 5, 1866, in two gun-boats, which were exchanged for light canoes at Kratieh; the original force, twenty-three persons in all, being later reduced, while much of the equipment was cast aside at successive passages where difficult navigation or unexpected fatiguing marches compelled it. In view of the physical obstacles surmounted, the perils encountered through the unhealthiness of the country, the prolonged and vexatious delays of diplomacy in the numerous States traversed, the honor of great fortitude and patriotic devotion must be accorded to those who composed this expedition and conducted it through all difficulties. The general course accomplished was an ascent of the Mekong nearly as far as the southern border of Yunnan, the crossing of that province in a north-easterly direction, by way of the capital, till the Yang-tse was reached, from which point the journey was made by steamer to Shanghai, and the company arrived on return at Saigon June 29, 1868. In all, the distance traversed from Kratieh, head of steam navigation on the Mekong, to Shanghai, was 5,392 miles, of which 3,625 miles, chiefly in a country geographically unknown to Europeans, were surveyed with

care, and the positions fixed astronomically. A full scientific account of the expedition was published at Paris in two superb quarto volumes, with abundant maps and illustrations;* M. De Carné reported its progress in a series of brilliant papers in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,† 1869–70; and we have later the memoir and letters of De Lagrée, accompanied by numerous other papers and historical essays, chiefly about Cambodia, edited from his manuscripts.‡

We can but briefly touch upon some of the results attained by the expedition in its course through the Laos or Shan States, it being understood that there was no general exploration of the country, but only of the river and some adjacent regions. Of chief importance was the sadly disappointing discovery that the Mekong, whose course as determined by the observations is now presented in the most recent maps, owing to the great irregularity of its current, the number of its rapids and cataracts, is entirely unfit for steam navigation above Kratieh (some 280 miles from its mouth), or at best above Sombor. The great cataract of Khong presents a quite impassable barrier. There are frequent rapids between Bassak and Khemrat. For a space of perhaps sixty miles here the water runs through a channel over 330 feet deep and hardly 200 feet across. At Bassak the river is 7,384 feet wide, and farther down, at Stung Treng, it is of much greater breadth, but with a strong and violent current which twists into furious eddies. For some two hundred miles below Vien-Chang, in the bend of the river westward (as one ascends), a steamer might ply, but above this point, where the ascent of the stream

* "Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué par une commission française pré-idée par M. le Capitaine de Frégate, Doudard de Lagrée." 2 vols, 4to. Paris: Hachette et Cië, 1873. For a popular account of the course of the expedition from the pen of M. Garnier, with full illustrations by M. Delaporte, see the "Tour du Monde," vols. xx–xxvi (1869–73). Hachette & Co., Paris.

† Reissued in a volume by E. Dentu, Paris, 1872. English translation, "Travels in Indo-China and the Chinese Empire," by Louis M. De Carné. London: Chapman & Hall. 1872.

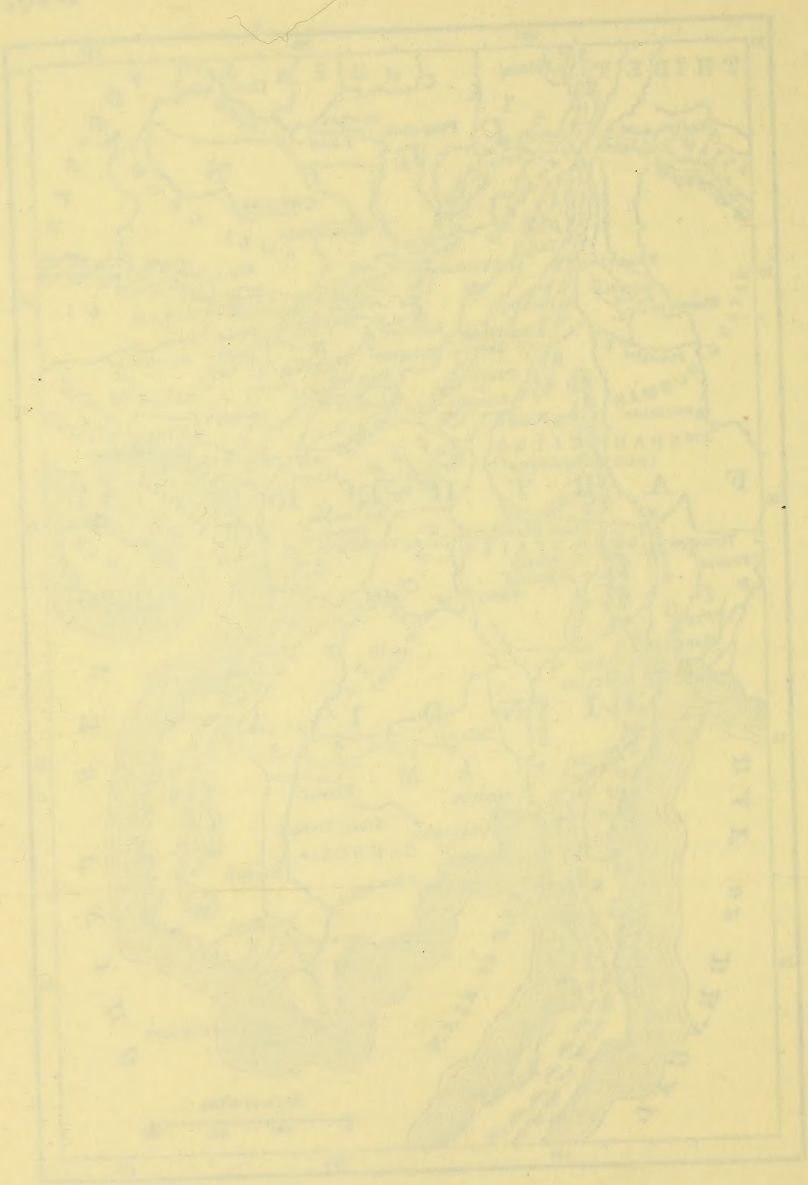
‡ "Explorations et Messieurs de Doudard de Lagrée, Capitaine de Frégate, Premier Representant du Protectorat français au Cambodee, Chef de la Mission d'Exploration du Mekong et du Haut Song-koi. Extraits de ses Manuscrits, mis en ordre par M. A. B. de Villemereuil, Capitaine de Vaisseau." 4to, cxi, 684. Paris: Imprimerie ut Libraire de Mdm. Veuve Bouchard-Huzard, Jules Tremblay, Gendre et Successeur. 1883.

is directly northward toward Luang Prabang, the country becomes mountainous, and the river, larger here than the Menam at Bangkok, forces its way through steep banks with a noise like the roaring of the sea. Above Chieng-Khong it winds through a magnificent plain, but farther up becomes, in spite of its volume, far more difficult of navigation than before. In short, through all its 2,000 miles of length, except in the section below Kratieh, the Mekong is nothing better than a magnificent mountain torrent. The French explorers were early forced to confess as much, though De Lagrée, as he looked upon the expanse of waters at Bassak, penned this natural exclamation: "*Quel beau fleuve!*" This river, like the Menam, is subject to annual inundation, there being at some points a difference of thirty-five to forty feet between the usual and extraordinary level; the latter occurring in July and August.*

At Bassak, a very ancient residence of Laos kings, the prince, now subject to Siam, professed his readiness to accept, like Cambodia, the protection of France. De Lagrée visited Ubon, westward on the Se-Mun river, which connects Bangkok by trade with most of Laos above it and below Luang Prabang. De Carné expressed his opinion that France should extend her sway over Ubon and over the whole country south of the Se-Mun as far westward as Khorat, and withdraw the trade by which Bangkok profits to Saigon. This and similar projects have been a natural cause for the alarm which has prevailed, as especially reported during the last year, at the court of Siam. It has been proposed to embrace the region of the same latitude east of the Mekong in the scheme. To stimulate the trade, which is but moderate and in the hands of the Chinese, and bring profit to the French colony, a railroad is now being constructed from Saigon to Pnompenh, with the ultimate design of making it serve the purpose for which the river is unfit by an extension northward; and if the French colony should prove, contrary to probability, a substantial success, this line

* The chart accompanying this article is simply designed to show the relative position of different points. A good and handy map of China (17 by 18 inches), accessible to all, is that issued by the China Inland Mission. It exhibits quite fully the mountain ranges and rivers (though inaccurate as to the Mekong), and embraces a part of Burmah and the Shan States. Address Rev. E. R. Smith, Mission Rooms, Methodist Episcopal Church, 805 Broadway, New York. Price, 20 cents.

may yet form some connection with the territory of China. The expedition found Burmese peddlers selling English goods, as cotton checks, printed calicoes, woolen fabrics, buttons, and needles, at Ubon and elsewhere. "Khorat," says De Carné,



"is a vast *entrepôt* where many Chinese have settled, who go out from it in all directions through the Siamese territories, and carry the English cotton checks through every part of Middle Laos." * There was a like activity in English goods at Luang Prabang, where the Indian rupee was found to be the standard coin, and British Burmese were the traders instead of Chinese. This is the most spirited and independent of the Laos States which have heretofore acknowledged allegiance to Siam. It is inhabited by vigorous northern Shans, and the town has a daily market, the only one at that time (according to De Carné) in Siamese Laos. The reception accorded the expedition here was at first cool, on account of the prevailing sympathy with Chieng-mai, a Siamese Shan State on the west, in its disposition to repel the advances of the English. The authority of China had already been thrown off, and the presence of Chinese in the town is rare. The State borders on Tonquin, with the intervention of some wild tribes, and has been a recent object of active diplomatic schemes on the part of France. The Laos population of the State was estimated at 100,000 to 120,000, and the number of savages at 200,000 to 300,000, of subdued and unsubdued tribes, a classification which obtains throughout the country. A system of slavery exists in Laos, sustained in part by raids upon the wild tribes, less practiced now than formerly.† The expedition found it difficult to arrive at an estimate of the population in these States, and it was hard to obtain

* The term "Laos" is applied by the French, and is commonly applied, to the region of the States dependent on Siam, as it is to the people inhabiting it, though frequently, and in this article, the term Shan is used synonymously with it. The Siamese Laos, or Shans, are but another variety of the great Shan race represented by the northern tribes or states. Shan is, however, a Burmese term. This people, now identified with the Tai stock, according to the latest and perhaps most reliable investigations, migrated originally from the Kia-lung mountains north of Sze Chuen and south of Shen-Si. The Siamese are a branch of the same stock, and call themselves the "Little Taï."

† Only a small proportion of the slaves in Siamese Laos are derived from this source. The chiefs of the subdued tribes sell the poor of their villages. Parents sell their children. It is a custom of the people in some parts to place themselves under the protection of some chief. These lords or *chaos* are of different grades, and make up the ruling class. In Chieng-mai (Zimmé), says Colquhoun, almost every body is a slave to some one else. One third of the population of Siam are in a state of slavery through debt. The condition is a mild one, a bond service rather than slavery; but the system is the curse of the country, debasing the spirit. The more energetic Chinese, Burmese, and northern Shans get all the trade.

information on other matters. Partly from this cause, probably, they failed to make such definite and important discoveries of mineral products as had been anticipated, though certain mines of iron, copper, and lead were visited.* In passing through the northern or Burmese Shan States the explorers found the princes quite approachable, but the Burmese officials hostile and unreliable. The native princes held their allegiance to Burmah very loosely, detesting its irregular and tyrannic control, and were credited by De Lagrée with a hatred of the English. This view of the case, however, is questionable, in reference at least to the present day.

The expedition having passed through the extensive region of teak forests in the north, ceased to follow the course of the river at Chieng-Hung, 1200 miles from the sea, and at an elevation of 700 meters. After ten days of travel, the country all the way being extremely difficult of passage owing to the bad condition of the roads and the abrupt ascents and descents in the mountain belt, they crossed the Chinese frontier, October 18, 1867, and to their great joy looked down on Ssumao (itself 1200 meters in altitude), being the first Europeans to visit this region except the Jesuit missionaries, who had occupied several points in Yunnan. Consultation with the authorities at Ssumao, and the reception of a letter from an influential and well-informed French Catholic missionary, revealed the impossibility of a farther ascent of the Mekong (which their instructions had directed them to explore to its source),† on account of the hostilities then prevailing in western Yunnan, incited by the

* Siam itself is undoubtedly rich in minerals. Tin underlies an extensive territory in Lower Siam. Gold abounds in the Bang-tap-han province, and at the foot of the "San-ra-yot" range; precious stones in the hills about Chantaboon, on the east of the gulf; copper, iron, and lead at different points. Most of these mines, contrary to former policy, are now open to foreign enterprise.

† The Grosvenor party crossed the Mekong, called by the Chinese the Lang-tsang-kiang, or Kiou-lang-kiang, between Tali-fu and Yung-Chang, where Baber reports it as from 60 to 80 yards wide, flowing smoothly in the floor of the gorge. There was no trade on the river, no boats, no road, and the valley was uninhabited. According to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" the Mekong rises in Thibet at about latitude 34 degrees and longitude 94 degrees. Huc and Gabet saw the confluence of the two main branches at Tisando (32 degrees N. lat.), and the Abbe Desgodins had followed the stream from that point down to Te-tche, in 27 degrees 20 minutes N. lat. (See "La Mission du Thibet," Paris, 1872, and the Abbe's papers in "Bull. Geog. Soc.," 1871, 5, 6, 7.)

Mohammedan rebellion which had disturbed the country since 1855. The expedition was every-where favorably received by the Chinese authorities, owing largely, besides the sanction of the official papers from Peking, to the fact that the French missionaries in the province had allied themselves very positively with the government against the rebellion. The course of the expedition was thereupon turned eastward, in special hope of furthering in some way the interests which the French had already acquired in Tonquin. When Yuen-Kiang was reached on the Song-koi (Red River), Garnier was deputed to explore this stream in its descent toward the Tonquin gulf.

The hostile disposition of the inhabitants arrested his journey at the end of forty miles, and he rejoined the expedition at Si-ngan. To his great joy, however, he learned enough to establish his belief that the Song-koi was navigable from the Chinese market of Manhao all the way to the sea; and here was a grand commercial prospect opened up to the expedition which would repay them for the bitter disappointment they had suffered on the Mekong. The journey was continued through Yunnan. From the tropical climate of the Shan States, below latitude 21 degrees, they had passed to a zone between 21 and 24 degrees, temperate on the mountains, though still tropical in the valleys, and beyond this found a purely temperate climate, quite cold in the winter season, in which they were now traveling. De Lagrée speaks of Yunnan in general as bearing the usual products of France, and possessing a climate favorable to Europeans. From Si-ngan (1400 meters elevation) northward, they found the roads of better construction and easier inclination; crossed Lake Chepin in boats, traversed the margins of numerous other lakes before unknown to Europeans, which lay at successive stages of elevation till, at a height of 2200 meters, they came out upon the summit of the central plateau of Yunnan, where a magnificent prospect was open before them. They beheld Yunnan-fu, the capital, situated on the largest of the series of lakes, and entered it the day before Christmas, 1867. They there found Père Protteau and Père Fenouil, the Catholic missionaries, both of whom furnished them much assistance, the latter being a person of great influence for services rendered the imperial government in the existing war. It was he who had sent the letter to Ssumao. They were pleasantly

entertained by Gen. Mâ, commander of the imperial forces, but were forbidden the hope of obtaining authorization from the Chinese officials to attempt to penetrate the Mohammedan States in the north-west, where the head-waters of the Mekong were supposed to lie. Leaving Yunnan-fu January 8, they traveled north-eastward through a very desolate country, till Tong-tchouen was reached, where a sad event occurred in the death of De Lagrée, on the 12th of March. He had been taken seriously ill three days before, a result of fatigues of the journey, which aggravated a disease of the liver long before contracted. Garnier had been sent from this point at head of a small party, embracing Delaporte, Thorel, and De Carné, to reach Tali-fu, capital city of the rebel chiefs, by an unusual route through Sze-Chuen. Though the letter of the Mohammedan Ulema at Yunnan, with which they were provided, was respected by the chief, or "Sultan," the party only escaped with their lives by speedy flight. They returned to Tong-tchouen to mourn the loss of their leader. His body was transported to Saigon, where a monument is erected to his memory. The command devolved upon Garnier, who conducted the expedition to its close.

While at Shanghai Garnier had an interview with M. Dupuis, who had traveled much in China, and possessed influence everywhere with official personages. It was what he learned at this interview about the probable availability of the Song-koi as a commercial route which led to his subsequent journeys to Yunnan in 1869 and 1870. In the latter year he descended the Song-koi to the vicinity of Hanoi,* and returning, reported to Gen. Mâ, who gladly commissioned him to procure from Europe, and bring up by the new and promising river route, a quantity of arms for the equipment of his forces. The sequel is related in Dr. Wentworth's article before mentioned.

Passing by any consideration of Tonquin itself, or of what has been said concerning the special profit to France of its colonial schemes in this quarter of the world, it is our part to allude to the resources of south-eastern Yunnan, which is drained by the Song-koi and its tributaries. Little can be practically known of the possibilities of trade till a state of peace is established. As to the river itself, it is now acknowledged that it

* "L'Ouverture du Fleuve Rouge au Commerce." Par J. Dupuis. Paris: Challamel. 1879.

presents difficulties of navigation for a hundred miles below Manhao. This town has hardly an elevation of 500 feet, but is closed in by hills to the north 6,000 feet in height. It is nevertheless asserted that a railroad, which could easily be constructed up the river, would find a suitable place of entrance to reach the plateau northward which would conduct it to Yunnan-fu.

In the new Manhao, on the left bank, Cantonese were settled in large numbers in prosperous times, representing mercantile houses in Canton, Hong-Kong, Macao, and other places on the coast, who send thither woolen, cotton, and silk fabrics, raw cotton and tea being taken in return. In the years of the rebellion the trade had been largely transferred to the Si-kiang (the river of Canton), but it has since to a considerable extent returned. Garnier gives a pleasing picture of such portion of this section of Yunnan as he visited, as to its productiveness and general aspect of civilized culture. At Yuen-kiang quite a quantity of cotton and sugar was produced on the plain. An irrigating canal, such as is common throughout China, was observed running along the line of the river and serving all the villages. On the plateau many fields of deep red earth were waving with Indian corn. In the vicinity of Si-ngan fine market gardens were seen, intermingled with sugar plantations, along the bank of a river flowing either into the basin of the Song-koi or of the Si-kiang, which was diked all along its banks, and over which, at near intervals, extended bridges of Roman-like construction, decorated with pagodas, triumphal arches, and ornamental gates. The rectangular city of Si-ngan (this being the usual form of Chinese cities), with which were connected populous and busy suburbs, showed yet, notwithstanding many had been ruthlessly destroyed by the rebels, official buildings, or yâmens, and pagodas tastefully decorated, with markets of such excellent construction as many a city in France does not enjoy.

Garnier alludes to the numerous mines of gold, silver, and copper which were said to exist in the department of Kai-hua, eastward, which is drained by an affluent of the Song-koi. The French, as is remembered by the natives, made many inquiries after the mines, and the favor of considerable information was accorded them. Indeed, their grand object of study in Yunnan was the mineral products of the region, as they had formed

expectations of finding in them great sources of wealth; but they visited the country at a time when the majority of the mines had been for years closed on account of the rebellion. M. Emile Rocher, officer in the customs service of China, accompanied Dupuis to Yunnan in 1869. He traveled with him a portion of his journey in 1870, and, on the latter's departure for Europe, remained to organize the imperial arsenals, making an exploration of the southern portion of the province. He devoted himself to a study of the metallurgy practiced in Yunnan, and has treated the subject in a full and scientific manner, besides giving a general description of the portion of the country he visited, in two volumes, which include several chapters on the history of the Mohammedan rebellion.* Materials for the historical part of the work were secured with the aid of the highest authority, both imperial and Mohammedan. He speaks of the neighborhood of Si-ngan as possessing mines of great richness—iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold—and says that this fact has contributed to educate for generations the people of that city in the art of mining, so that they stand at the head of the province in this industry. In the mining village of Ch'-a-tien (on the road to Meng-tzu) the houses are mostly well built and comfortable; among them are many temples erected by the societies of miners, and more or less decorated. He found the bustle of the place, the commercial transactions, and the general well-to-do appearance of the people a testimony to the richness of the country. The number of workmen was continually increasing. At Kuo-chia silver, tin, lead, and iron are obtained. About two hundred galleries produced tin at that time, though the work had been greatly interrupted by the unsettled state of the country. The deeper galleries were abandoned, though still yielding abundantly, through want of effectual appliances to purify the air, while accidents from the same cause were numerous. We quote in full an interesting passage about the visit to this mine:

A few days occupied in visiting the different mining works of the village enabled us to sufficiently study the different methods employed in operating the metals. This industrial population, in

* "La Province Chinoise du Yunnan." Par Emile Rocher. 2 vols., 8vo. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur. 1879. This work is accompanied by a very full map of the province.

full sympathy with a spirit of progress, did not for a moment cease to show a responsive and kindly disposition toward an inquirer, and instead of coldness and jealousy in presence of a stranger, we found only, in masters and workmen, a readiness to suspend their operations in order to explain to us the minutest details. To this openness was joined a measure of curiosity, for at each step of the process they did not fail to ask if the same method was used in Europe. They were quite incredulous when we told them of the results obtained by our engineers, whether in regard to the celerity of the operations or the quality of the products. Sometimes the more intelligent among them, having readily grasped the idea of the European process, closely examined the operation, and inquired whether the same machines could not be manufactured in their own country. Others, generally the more advanced in years, who were unable to conceive of any process more practical or valuable than their own, received what we told them as tales designed for their amusement, or as a slight upon their intelligence.

Rocher gives decided testimony in many passages to the agricultural fertility and prosperity of eastern Yunnan. This view, however, is directly contradicted by Mr. Colquhoun, a recent English traveler in these parts, to whose work we shall, later on, refer more fully.* He allows, what all must admit, that the Song-koi offers the most direct and easiest route to eastern Yunnan; but "it is one thing," he says, "to secure the route, and another to secure the trade." "Every thing we have seen points to the poverty of this portion of the country, and the small amount of commerce that can be developed. . . . The country is barren and mountainous, with few villages, from which a poverty-stricken peasantry and a small governing class extract but a meager living." It is not easy to reconcile the two reports, especially as years of peace have intervened since the visit of M. Rocher and of the expedition; though it is true that the English traveler saw certain parts of the country not observed by the others.

It is unquestionable that the French have been stimulated in their efforts to open new resources and means of trade in the

* "Across Chrysê." By A. R. Colquhoun, Executive Engineer Indian Public Works. With 300 illustrations, three specially prepared maps, and 30 fac-similes of native drawings. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1883.

Chrysê stands for the ancient Greek of ἡ χρυση, supposed to represent Malacca, or to be equivalent to the *Aurea Regio* of Ptolemy, the Indo-China peninsula.

countries here contemplated by the zeal which England had shown in the same direction. As for England, she has sufficient motive, like other European nations in this era, to extend her colonial interests and their trade connections, in that the products of the colonies and of this trade, particularly in the East, appear indirectly to furnish the necessary support for the masses of her working people at home. The balance of trade against her in the United States—through purchase of cotton and breadstuffs of some £88,000,000 annually—is said to be largely met in this manner; that is, through the purchases of American merchants in the East.* Extension of her colonial trade seems to be an urgent necessity for her life. British Burmah is an example of successful colonization in a commercial point of view. The population has rapidly increased from 2,092,331 in 1863 to 3,736,771 in 1881. The colony has yielded a surplus to the Indian government which, for nine years ending in 1881, aggregated £7,381,485. The total general revenue, exclusive of municipal, postal, and railway, increased from £1,232,066 in 1871 to £2,164,067 in 1881. Rangoon has become the rival of Madras as a shipping port. Previous to 1852 its average annual shipping was 125 vessels, of which only 20 were European. The arrivals of 1881 counted 842 ships, with a tonnage of 584,450. The serious check which the growth of trade has received now becoming more apparent, from the deplorable condition of affairs under King Thebaw's reign in Upper Burmah, which began with 1879, the year after his accession, when the British Resident was withdrawn from Mandalay, is accidental, though there are also general causes, presumably temporary, for the depression of the last two or three years. The trade between British and native Burmah was increasing rapidly under the reign of the former King Mendoon, growing from £2,188,899 in 1869–70 to £3,863,406 in 1879–80. In textile fabrics it advanced from £110,796 to £562,205 at the same dates. Something has been done for the colony in laying down railways, as to Prome and Toungoo, and much more for the steam navigation of the Irrawaddy. The numbers of steamers on the river increased from 9 to 38 between 1871 and 1881. There were no steamers there till 1868. In 1882 the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company had twenty-nine mag-

* See more on this subject in the "Nineteenth Century," September, 1884.

nificent steamers and forty-four flats running to Mandalay twice a week, and to Bhamo once a week.

We make this allusion to the progress and normal commercial prosperity of Burmah for the reason that, apparently, the most promising new lines of communication for the trade of Western China with British territory now proposed have their termini in that colony, and because this colonial success furnishes a specially good basis for hope in seeking to develop a trade route with China from this direction. Though nothing has yet been achieved beyond the borders of the province, the colonial government has taken an active interest in some preparatory exploration. It has been, indeed, long considered by the general administration of India a matter of importance to find some suitable land route for commercial intercourse with China as a means of securing advantage, if possible, over the dangers and delays of the sea passage by the Straits to Hong-Kong. If such communication could be profitably opened by railway it would, for the reason mentioned, quite overbalance, it is thought, any gain which France may make in the possession of Tonquin.

Europe had in the Middle Ages (embracing a number of centuries) a very considerable intercourse, both by land and sea, with China, then known under the name of Cathay, and with its formerly flourishing cities of fabulous wealth. The memory of this intercourse and of the routes followed seemed for a long period lost in oblivion, but the fragmentary records of it which exist possess a deep interest—particularly in view of the history of Christian missions (for such missions were then extended to China)—if not a great practical value, for our day.* That land of far-off renown, rediscovered by Europe, has come into view almost like the new world made known to Columbus, who, indeed, died in the belief that he had found the Cathay of Marco Polo. European exploration has but just begun. Gradually we are getting a clear conception of its interior, and it is not unnatural if, even in England, some illusions have heretofore prevailed concerning resources for trade and the

* On this subject see the following valuable work: "Cathay and the Way Thither." Being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China. Translated and edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C. B., late of Royal Engineers, Bengal. Two vols., 8vo. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1866.

possibilities of developing rapid land communication between the western portion of China and the British possessions. Because, geographically, the distance is in appearance small (some two hundred miles) between Sudiya, on the upper Brahmaputra, and the political frontier of China, it seemed, at the first glance, a likely project to establish and foster a trade route in this quarter, and the idea is not yet abandoned; but it is a region extremely difficult to explore, both from its rugged, mountainous nature and from the savage character of its inhabitants, who have already murdered missionaries seeking to penetrate the country. The tribes are under the influence of the exclusive Thibetan government, and it was from this cause that Mr. Cooper was obliged to turn back in 1870.* Then there seems to be no way amid the rocky precipices and narrow chasms of this region practicable for any but an expert mountaineer. "There is little hope," says Mr. Hunter in the "Gazetteer of India," "of a trade route in this direction between India and China." The same authority also makes it to appear a matter of great difficulty to lay down any substantial road in the valley of the Brahmaputra, where it is affected by the periodical inundation from the river, though in a small triangular space of the upper valley a railway has been lately constructed between Talup, opposite Sudiya, Makum, at the foot of the Patkoi range, and Dibrugarh, head of navigation on the river; and to the latter place, also, eight hundred miles from the sea, steam navigation is profitably carried through a country fertilized by the inundation. It is, moreover, to be considered, concerning such a route, that if the tract intervening between Sudiya and the Chinese frontier were passable, there remains a lengthy journey of at least twenty days through a country of rugged mountains before the basin of east Sze-Chuen is reached, and there the established trade outlet is by the Yang-tse to Shanghai. Baron Richtoven, who, from his extensive journeys and scientific observations in China, has produced by far the most thorough work we have on the physical features of the

* "The Mishmee Hills." An Account of a Journey made in an Attempt to Penetrate Thibet from Assam and Open New Routes for Commerce. By T. T. Cooper, F R.G.S., Acting Political Agent at Bhamo. 12mo. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1873.

More friendly relations were established with Thibet last November, with some prospect of a free access for Indian traders to that country.

country,* points out elsewhere† that none of the English projects for railroad communication direct between India and China can afford any such success as has been imagined on account of the distance they must traverse before the really productive territory of China would be reached, and the vast engineering difficulties of the way. "The nearest town," he says, "situated in the plain of China, is I-chang-fu, on the Yang-tse, and the distance between that point and either Sudiya or Bhamo is as great as that from Berlin to Constantinople, while the intervening country is so mountainous that half a dozen St. Gothard tunnels would have to be pierced, to say nothing of other physical difficulties." He affirms that the great open way, starting from Signan-fu, in the province of Shen-Si, out through Kansuh into Central Asia, which has been for centuries considered by the Chinese emperors a channel of access and egress of the highest military importance, and on which wagons are now easily used, is the one profitable way of railroad intercourse between the fertile sections of China and other Asiatic countries. A good portion of the region is productive, and it abounds in deposits of coal. We have no space for quotation, but suggest that a perusal of the article referred to, which in a rather negative way illustrates our theme, would well repay the reader. A railroad in that direction, however, if other than Chinese, must be a Russian one. When China gets ready for the great modern instrument of inland commerce and civilization, England, if true to her former history, will not be deterred by any thing but a physical impossibility from pushing in on her side.

From this digression we return to Burmah. We are not concerned with the railroad schemes proposing to connect that country with India, and thus divert to Calcutta the trade which now goes to Rangoon by the Irrawaddy. We have in view the connection of Burmah with China; and here take notice of the attention which the English have given to the old historical trade route with China having its terminus at Bhamo. This

* "China: Ergebnisse Eigener Reissen und darauf gegründeten Studien." Von Ferdinand Freiherr von Richtoven. 3 vols., 4to. Berlin: Verlag von Diedrich Reimer. 1877–1883.

† Markham's "Geographical Magazine," July, 1874, article, "Land Communication between Europe and China."

town of native Burmah is situated on the Irrawaddy, some 800 miles from the sea, where the river has a breadth of one mile and a half, and is navigable for steamers, which it is thought might go 150 miles farther. Bhamo, according to a description of ten years ago, is a narrow town, about one mile in length, of 500 houses with 2,500 inhabitants, who, except the Chinese merchants, are Burmese Shans. The merchants are connected with those of the same nationality in the hill-towns of Yunnan. They control the cotton market, and sell also Chinese yarns, silk and silk fabrics, tea, opium, Yunnan potatoes, some metals, drugs, and fruits brought from and through Yunnan. The caravans take in return into China raw cotton, ivory, and wax, rhinoceros' and deers' horns, peacocks' feathers, precious stones, Manchester goods, and a few other small foreign articles. A stockade then surrounded the town as a defense against the incursions of the Kakhyens.* This semi-savage race, though largely spread over the plain, inhabit the hills some twenty-five miles to the east, 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height, which form the border of Yunnan. The Shwaylee River separates these hills from another range eastward, and flows into the Irrawaddy about forty miles in a direct line south of Bhamo, offering, it has been said, a way into Yunnan more capable of improvement and development than any other in these parts. The Taping, flowing down from the Kakhyen hills, enters the Irrawaddy a mile above Bhamo, and the paths followed by traders lead on both sides of it. There is a way of trade with Yunnan by Theinee, on the more easterly range of mountains, but in point of facility the Bhamo route seems to have been for centuries regarded as superior. We have itineraries of Burmese embassies to Peking by this route, the distance being given at 1,745 miles, accomplished in 121 days. The English took an early interest in this trade route. With the Dutch, they had a factory at old Bhamo (some distance from the present town up the Taping) as early as 1658, and still earlier, establishments at Prome and

* In the prevailing disturbed state of the country Bhamo was assaulted and captured by a body of Chinese and Kakhyens on December 8, 1884, the English (China Inland) and American (Baptist) missionaries barely escaping with their lives, and so far as appears at the present writing, it is still held by them. The political future of Upper Burmah is uncertain, but it is hardly probable that the course of trade will be long interrupted. The intervention of British power in those parts seems called for in the interest of humanity.

Ava, being driven out by the wars between Burmah and China. Political circumstances have favored or restricted intercourse. In 1854, before the outbreak of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunnan, the trade of Bhamo amounted to half a million sterling. The British obtained, in the treaty of 1862 with the native Burmese government, a provision that trade in and through Upper Burmah should be freely thrown open to British enterprise, and direct trade with China be relieved of burdensome duties. As the first political step toward securing the advantages of this treaty, at the instance of Gen. Albert Fytche, then Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, the expedition of 1868, under Major E. B. Sladen, a very judicious officer, was fitted out with due escort, to journey from Bhamo into Yunnan and discover the cause of the cessation of trade, the disposition of the Panthays (or Mohammedans), the Shans, and the Kakhyens towards commercial intercourse, and to report on the resources and character of the country. Dr. Anderson, professor in the Medical College of Calcutta was the scientific officer of the expedition, of which he has published a full account.* Though favorably received by the Mohammedan population, they penetrated no farther than to Momien, a Chinese town at 5,000 feet elevation and 135 miles from Bhamo, being, on account of the opposition of the Chinese and the generally disturbed state of the country, obliged to return. In 1874, the rebellion having been generally subdued, another expedition under Col. Horace Browne was sent forward. Dr. Anderson held the same position as before, and records the result in a second volume.† To make it plain to the mandarins that these Englishmen were of the same nation and interest as those of the eastern ports, and to provide an interpreter, Augustus R. Margary, the young and talented consul at Shanghai, was commissioned to proceed west and join the company.‡ He reached Bhamo before the

* "Report on the Expedition to Yunnan via Bhamo." By John Anderson, M.D., Medical Officer and Naturalist to the Expedition. 8vo. Calcutta: Office Superintendent of Government Printing. 1871.

† "Mandalay to Momien." A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875 under Cols. E. B. Sladen and Horace Browne. With Maps and Illustrations. By John Anderson, M.D., Curator of the Imperial Museum, etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

‡ "The Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary from Shanghai to Bhamo and back to Manwyne." From his Journals and Letters, with a brief Biographical

expedition set out, which it did February 5, 1875. But the Chinese were jealous, owing to different causes, and gave token of hostile feeling. It was probably by one of the wild bands under Li-sieh-tai (or "Brigadier" Li), a rebel chief pardoned and intrusted with military command, that Margary was murdered, February 21, at Manwyne, whither he had gone forward to negotiate. The whole party was attacked, and returned to Burmah.

At Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, the British minister, demanded an investigation and passports for a new mission, which was accordingly dispatched from Hankow, March 5, 1875, under Hon. T. G. Grosvenor. Mr. E. Colborne Baber, a member of the party and an observer of recognized ability, has made a particular report of that portion of the route in Yunnan, through Yunnan-fu, Tali-fu, and Momien to Bhamo, which had not been previously detailed.* This investigation, which fixed the probability of guilt upon the Chinese authorities of the province, resulted in the convention of 1876, according to which, with an indemnity and other concessions, a proclamation was to be posted in all the towns and cities of the empire placing foreign travelers under the protection of the emperor. Capt. Gill, who traveled in Yunnan in 1879,† found this proclamation, or convention, effectual. He says: "On the whole, there can be no doubt that the central government of Peking wields a potent sway even in these distant provinces. It is due to the Che-foo Convention, to Sir Thomas Wade's administration, that Englishmen may travel with comfort throughout this vast empire."

Preface, to which is added a concluding chapter by Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B. Portrait and Route Map. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

* See "Travels and Researches in Western China." By E. Colborne Baber. From Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1882. The paper referred to is No. III: also issued separately as Parliamentary Blue Book, China No. 3 (1878).

† "The River of Golden Sand." The narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Thibet to Burmah, with Illustrations and Ten Maps from the Original Survey. By Capt. William Gill, Royal Engineer: with an Introductory Essay by Col. Henry Yule, C.B.R.E.* Two vols., 8vo. London: John Murray, 1880.

Art. V.—THE LAST TESTIMONY TO THE ATONEMENT.

If we glance rapidly through the five chapters of St. John's first epistle, in which, probably, we have the final document of revelation, we find that in each of the first two and the last two there is a distinct statement or definition of the atoning work, while in the middle one there are three. Thus there are seven clear testimonies, independent and emphatic: a larger number, it need hardly be said, than can be found anywhere else within the same space, and running through the whole as its "bond of perfectness." Then it will not require any artifice or pressure to make these manifold testimonies deliver one evidence to one truth; in other words, to show that the epistle is a prism which gives all the several colors that make up the one uncolored light of our redemption. On the other hand, it will not be a difficult task to show that each one of these testimonies is really distinct from every other; and not only so, but distinct from all others in the Scripture: in fact, that we have here seven absolutely unique presentations of the doctrine, which is, notwithstanding, the very "same that we had from the beginning." Again, it will appear that, while some of the current definitions and illustrations of the atonement are absent so far as concerns the word and expression, not one is really unrepresented in deed and in truth. And, finally, it will not escape notice that the several testimonies which the last apostle lays down have more or less the nature of apologetic protests, providing against errors already commencing and certain in future times more distinctly to appear. All these several points of interest we must try to keep in view while discussing the series of passages in their order.

I. The first allusion enters as soon as it possibly could. After St. John has paid his tribute to the great manifestation of the personal Word he introduces the substance of the evangelical record, that Christians have fellowship in the light of God. This is the positive side of their high privilege; but it demands the negative: "the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth from all sin." We need not pause to consider more carefully the connection between the two: suffice that they are counterparts, and teach when united that whatever impurity or stain the

light of the divine holiness detects is unseen by the Judge, because it is cleansed away by the virtue of the Redeemer's blood. But, strictly speaking, there is no question here of "the Judge:" the sin for which the atoning sacrifice provides is viewed not as transgression but as defilement; and the virtue of which we speak is the removal of the pollution that disqualifies for the presence of God in his temple. Here, then, we have, as it were, a definition of the atonement: it is that quality in the blood of Jesus the Son of God which annuls, negatives, cleanses, or covers the pollution of sin. But the sentence, as we read it, stands alone in the New Testament, and our only concern at present is with the fact of its uniqueness.

The peculiarity of the phrase is not precisely its allusion to the cleansing efficacy of Christ's blood: as to this there are some few parallels more or less complete. For instance, in the Epistle to the Hebrews we read of the blood of Christ as cleansing our conscience from dead works, and as being the blood of sprinkling; and of our Saviour as having made purification of our sins. So in St. Peter's first epistle, and elsewhere, the "precious blood" is the price of our redemption. But there is such a fullness and emphasis in the sentence before us as cannot be found elsewhere. We are so familiar with this wonderful saying that we are apt to forget how wonderful it is. Comparing it, however, with other testimonies that had gone before, we mark at once its high singularity of meaning. The blood is here for the first time the blood of Jesus the Son of God: "of Jesus," the human name which occurs prominently throughout the epistle; and of "the Son," which occurs with equal prominence; and of both, here alone united, as giving the final testimony of Scripture to the divine-human value of the sacrifice offered for our sins. We have the same declaration in an indirect form in other places: for instance, where St. Paul speaks of "the Church of God, which He purchased with his own blood." But now it comes out expressly, finally, and conclusively; the last testimony to the true standard of the value of the blood. Whatever is elsewhere said of its goodly price, of its heavenly virtue, of its infinite power in heaven, and, therefore, on earth, finds its reason here. "Jesus" furnished the blood which carried with it the pouring out and offering to God a perfect human life; but it was the blood of

the "Son" of the Father which he himself offered, and which it is superfluous, therefore, to qualify with any epithet indicative of value. Almost always, until now, something had been added to betoken the superiority of this blood; but now the final testimony renders any commendation needless. It is "the blood of Jesus his Son."

Final testimony it is and it is not. In fact, we shall see that our epistle is rounded with one witness, which begins and ends with "blood." And this suggests at once how utterly wrong they are who strive to diminish the reality, the theological and practical reality, of the blood of our Incarnate Sacrifice. It is sometimes said that the sacrificial language of the old economy enters the New Testament only as figure and for a transitional purpose; that the speech of the Gospel bewrays that it came up out of the ancient temple, and could not easily shake off the Levitical phraseology; and finally, that all our notions of the atonement must be rid of these ancient incumbrances and brought up to the standard of a "living sacrifice," as presented by our Representative and Pattern and reflected in ourselves. Now if that were true, we should certainly find that the language of the New Testament would gradually refine away these allusions—that its current would run clearer and clearer until all this sediment had fallen out of sight. But the passage we consider is in evidence to the contrary. Indeed it is only the consummation and finish of a series of evidences to the contrary. The Levitical language is more distinct and real at the end of the gospels than at the beginning, at the end of the Acts than at the beginning. St. Paul, certainly, as he writes on and on, does not forsake the altar and its terminology; nor are his writings less sprinkled with the sacred blood at the end than at the beginning. And here comes St. John, the most spiritual, contemplative, and mystical of all the writers—so far as such language is permissible—and at the very close of revelation, opens and finishes his last document by a most realistic allusion to the blood of the sacrificial atonement. St. John, at least, gives no sanction to the idea of a Gospel so "spiritual" as to need no support of a veritable oblation on the cross. He does not, indeed, mention the cross; though, as we shall see hereafter, he introduces it without the word and in the most impressive manner. But his epistle is proof that the evan-

gelical system has not developed itself clear of the oblation for human sin, and has not refined itself out of the elements of divine wrath and its propitiation. To any one who has been fascinated by the modern theory, and has come almost insensibly to believe that the entire vocabulary of atonement served only to express the shadows of a better dispensation in which there is at last remission without shedding of blood, the language of the last evangelist at the opening of his last transcendent treatise must communicate—at any rate it ought to communicate—something like a shock. The transition from the awful light in which God IS and in which Christians WALK, to the "blood of Jesus his Son" cleansing from all sin, must be startling to him. To us it is the sublime simplicity of the Gospel.

And as the blood is here the veritable sacrifice of the Incarnate Son, so its efficacy is here the entire annulling and covering of sin, viewed in its relation to the altar. It is said "to cleanse from all sin;" and the question may arise whether St. John means more by cleansing than the word generally imports. Some expositors have lately striven to press the word into another service. The blood is said to retain its life, which is presented to God in sprinkling or received into the very nature of the believer. There is, doubtless, something extremely attractive in the sacramental idea of an infusion of our Lord's life into our souls through the medium of his blood. Moreover, it seems to have its sanction in the words, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." But we can only reply that, whatever may be said of the sacred blood elsewhere, it is here the vehicle of atonement. The cleansing has its meaning fixed by long usage, and that meaning finds its best expression in the words which open the Epistle to the Hebrews, "When he had made purification" or cleansing of our "sins." But we shall return to this at the end. Meanwhile, it is enough to point out that the verses which follow really settle the question as to what cleansing by blood means. The same word is used to express the act of God's faithfulness and righteousness in forgiving our sins and cleansing from iniquity. Surely the word does not so entirely change its application within the compass of a few sentences.

II. The apostle soon returns to the atonement; and in a passage which still more emphatically than the former stands alone. Every word, and every phase of thought in the sentence that now follows, is without strict parallel in the New Testament. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world." Let it be observed that Jesus is himself the propitiation; that his atonement is carried into heaven as the basis of an intercession for his own; and that this intercession for his own is in harmony with a general propitiation for the world.

With regard to the first point, it is remarkable that here only in the New Testament is the word *ἱλασμός*, "propitiation," used, and used in such a way as to suggest a silent contrast with the "blood" which opened the series. The word strictly means that quality or virtue in the sacrifice which propitiates God and expiates or annuls sin: one and the same word in Hebrew and Greek bearing these two meanings in Latin and English. Having spoken of the blood which was shed on earth for the cleansing away or expiating of sin, the apostle makes a sudden change to the same Jesus, "himself the propitiation." Let the reader, with this thought in his mind, read the passage carefully, and the writer's meaning will seize him at once. That which gives heavenly and irresistible virtue to the sacrifice is not the blood, nor the life which flows with the blood, but the very Self of the Offerer. "He is the propitiation," embodied and always effectual, "in the presence of God for us." It is easy to see the link between this and "the blood of Jesus his Son." The propitiation was certainly in the blood; but the blood has not entered heaven, however nearly the Epistle to the Hebrews may approach that thought. The atonement is transferred to the holiest, and gives its virtue there to the intercession of the Representative of his Church. He is not only "Jesus Christ, righteous," as the Paraclete of his people who may sin, but the strength of his intercession is that of the Son of God. "He is the propitiation" as the Son: so St. John emphatically tells us when he repeats this word in the fourth chapter, as we shall see. And we do not catch the spirit of the writer, nor perfectly enter into his

mind, unless we perceive the enthusiasm with which he proclaims that Christian sinners have an infinite plea. He is, in his divine-human perfection, the propitiation for them.

But, on the other hand, St. John would teach us that, even in heaven, there is propitiation needed. Though he does not expressly say this, it is undoubtedly what he intends to convey, and the very conjunction of the two ideas, "propitiation" and "in heaven," is deeply suggestive. The word must keep its meaning. Christians who sin against God are said to have the benefit applied to them, but the benefit is intended for the whole world. Let the two be considered for a little, individually and apart.

To take the latter first, the world has the virtue of the Saviour's presence as the propitiation. His person interposes between the divine displeasure and it; that is, between God and the world, or race, as such; as it is not said, "for the sins of the whole world," but "for the whole world," with a certain difference distinct enough to the trained ear. The apostle Paul would say that God is reconciled to the world, or that the world is redeemed. St. John does not use these words at all; but he means the same thing put into levitical language when he says that touching the whole world, Christ is a standing propitiation. And it will be manifest to every one how entirely new is the idea, or at any rate the expression of it. It is St. John who makes most prominent the universality of the benefit of Christ's intervention, but he nowhere more distinctly asserts it than here, where it comes in as it were by express deliberation and with an emphatic *nota bene*. The fact that, in this very epistle, the world is so sharply shut out of the domain of light, makes this all the more remarkable. At the close, "the world lieth in the wicked one:" here it seems to be in the Redeemer's arms, or in some sense under his shadow and protection.

For the offending Christians individually the propitiation avails, but in connection with a special advocacy. And each side of the statement defends us against its appropriate error. In saying that the Christian who may fall into sin has in reserve a propitiation which avails for him with God, the apostle answers effectually and finally a most important question: that, namely, as to the virtue of the atonement for sins committed

after the first benefit of that atonement had been received, or, to put it more exactly, for sins after regeneration. In the previous chapter he had been speaking at large of the efficacy of the blood of Jesus the Son of God, not so much for the cleansing of the sins of the regenerate as for the cleansing of all sin generally. If we examine carefully, we see that St. John divides men into two classes: on the one side those who walk in darkness and say that they have no sin, or that they have never sinned; on the other, those who come to the light and confess their sins. The universal atonement avails for these latter, who have their sins remitted as to their penalty, and cleansed as to their pollution. After that, the exhortation and Christian order is, "that ye sin not." But the troubled and sensitive conscience of the believer, who nevertheless has fallen, may only too well remember the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews as to no more sacrifice for sin remaining. His fear may misinterpret that, as we know that it has been so misinterpreted from the beginning: witness the whole economy of the added sacrament of penance. Now here is the last word of Scripture, and its great encouragement for the transgressor within the covenant. With the Father he has an advocate who is himself a propitiation for the sins of his people; and there is no limitation. We cannot help thinking of that remarkable sentence which runs thus in the Septuagint: *παρὰ Σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμός ἐστιν*, "there is propitiation with Thee." But we must add, from another psalm, "that Thou mayest be feared;" for if the word contains unlimited encouragement on the one hand, on the other it administers its caution. The apostle says that sinning Christians "have an Advocate," and that comes in before the "propitiation." He pleads for them though they have dishonored his atonement. Their case becomes as it were a special one; they must go to their great Confessor in heaven for absolution. If he pleads for them when they call him in as a Paraclete, they will find forgiveness, for he is himself an unfailing propitiation. Thus this double lesson is the second of our last series of witnesses to the doctrine of our redemption.

III. The strength and comfort of this testimony runs through a long chapter. But with a new topic the apostle finds his way to the atonement from another point of view,

approaching the altar from another side. "And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin." Of all the seven this one is in some respects the most striking. But of all the seven it is introduced with the least formality. The theme has been the second manifestation of the Lord our Hope, and the necessity that all who would see him as he is should be found like him when he is manifested: "pure even as he is pure," and "righteous even as he is righteous." With what inexpressible grace does the writer interject for his readers, as it were appealing incidentally to their knowledge of what he and they would alike take for granted as a well-understood axiom of the economy of the Gospel, that there was a first manifestation before that second one, and that the design of the earlier manifestation was to make provision for all that the latter would require. The grandest of all the testimonies enters in the most artless and simple manner. And like all the others it is without a parallel. It is so because it connects as no other does the general manifestation of the Son of God with his atonement; but this will be referred to again in the next testimony. Meanwhile, we have here two points of distinctness and peculiarity: the "taking away of our sins" by Him in whom "is no sin."

It will be suggested at once that the passage is simply an echo of the words of the Baptist in the first chapter of St. John's gospel. Certainly the evangelist goes back to his own record of the earliest of all New Testament testimonies to the atonement, given when Jesus was "manifested" to Israel for the world. But he by no means echoes the Baptist: the two testimonies are not the same. They seem to unite in one word, "taketh away," which occurs in an expiatory meaning, and as a definition of the atonement, only in those two places: the two Johns lifting up the same standard, one at the beginning and the other at the end of New Testament revelation. The word is found many times between these, notably with reference to "taking up" the cross; but with reference to what was borne up and borne away on the cross itself it occurs only in these. But with a difference; rather with sundry differences. Here in our epistle "the Lamb of God" is wanting, "the world" is wanting: it is the combination of these, the lamb for the Jewish offering, but offered for the world's sin, that impresses such

sublimity on the Baptist's word; but our epistle is in no need of this striking witness. Besides, it is precisely "our sins" that the passage emphasizes: at any rate, even if we have to give up under critical pressure the "our," it is not the "sin" of the whole race, but individual "sins" that the Saviour appeared to "take away."

And what is the peculiarity of the word here? It is no other than this, that of its two meanings that one preponderates which includes the entire removal of sin from our nature. The word *αἴρειν* has a very special force in the New Testament exhibition of the atonement. It answers in St. John to several other words, such as "put away," "annul," which combine the two ideas of bearing and taking "away:" the former noting the bearing as by one upon whom our iniquities are laid, and the latter the taking away as by one whose indwelling by the Spirit entirely removes them; the former represented by the goat whose blood was carried for expiation into the sanctuary, and the latter by the goat which carried away the same tale of sins into the land of forgetfulness. Now when John the Baptist announced the Lamb of God who "taketh away the sin of the world," the translation should be "beareth," for the Redeemer bears rather than bears away universal sin. And when John the evangelist says that he was manifested "to take away our sins," the translation is right, for the Redeemer bears away rather than bears our individual sins. Our Revised Version gives in both cases "beareth" as the marginal alternative, without attending to this distinction.

But the relation of the words "in him is no sin" to this atonement passage sets on it the seal of perfection. For it cannot be doubted that there is a connection between the two clauses: what precise connection, the intermediate "and" leaves very much to the decision of our theology or of our hearts. Now if we assume that the *ἄρῃ* bears its double meaning, though with a leaning to "take away," then this additional clause may with St. John's consent be referred to either and both, though with a leaning to the latter. He who bears on himself the iniquities of us all must have no iniquities of his own: that is a fundamental postulate of the Gospel, and requires a much more absolute doctrine of the necessary (as well as the real) sinlessness of the incarnate Son of God than current

views adopt. St. John's brief and emphatic sentence seems to give the very last and determinate expression to the truth that the Son of God knew no sin in his "manifestation" in the flesh any more than he could know in his pre-human estate: "in him is no sin." St. Paul's formula is, He became or was made "sin for us who knew no sin:" when he felt our sin laid upon him, he owned or recognized or knew it not as his own. "He [Satan] hath nothing in me," said our Representative himself as he arose to "bear our sins to the tree." St. John's testimony is to the rightly hearing ear an end of all controversy. But the words refer with equal directness to the other meaning: he who bears away our sins makes himself the standard of our future perfection, and makes us partakers of his own sinlessness. Then here we have, as it were, a new definition of the atonement. It is a provision to make the great exchange perfect on both sides: the Saviour takes up our sin, bearing it to the cross; and we, united to him, must become as free from sin as he is himself free. One side of the definition must not be taken without the other. Whenever it takes place, whether in the other world, or at death, or during the probation of life, the entire deliverance of the believer from his sin belongs to the very statement of the doctrine of atonement. There ought to be no question as to the "when." St. John at least leaves no ground for doubt. He analyzes for us the sinlessness of our Pattern: on the one hand, and negatively, "He is pure;" on the other hand, and positively, "He is righteous." But he does not say this for the Lord's dignity, but "for our sake;" we are to become pure "as he is pure," and to become righteous "as he is righteous."

IV. The transition to the next allusion is a very remarkable one. Suddenly the apostle passes from the sin in man which needed atonement to the hand of Satan in that sin, and the kingdom of evil that he has founded upon it. There can be no doubt that the destruction here spoken of has still reference to the atonement: to the atonement, that is, in its effects. This is evident from the repetition of the word "manifested," which only introduces another aspect of the same work that had just been dwelt upon. St. John retains his Hebrew style of repeating the thought with certain changes. Here the change is deeply significant. Before, it was "He who manifested;"

Ἐκεῖνος, that well-known and Only Person, who stands for the unnamed Lord so often in the epistle. Now "the Son of God" is introduced most solemnly, and for the first time, as the antagonist of the prince of this world. But not as his antagonist generally, and in all his ways and works as the promoter of evil in the universe; only in relation to the sin of the world, and the deliverance of his people from it. We must remember that the "manifestation" is already defined, and limited to the earthly sphere of our Saviour's work; it is distinguished from the manifestation of the future parousia (chap. ii, 28), and finds its term of necessity in the death of redemption. This being so, we have once more a unique and distinct view of the atonement. In what sense, we may briefly make the subject of an investigation; which, however, must not include the whole teaching of the New Testament as to the relation the devil bears to the atonement. That relation is variously stated; from our Lord's own allusion to the prince of this world being cast out down to the words we now consider. It is enough for us to mark what gives this text its peculiarity. And that will best be seen by regarding it as a protest against two opposite errors.

We observe here, and afterward in the epistle, the distinct traces of a personal spirit of evil, who is and has always been (from the beginning) the head and representative of sin among men. And in this passage the taking away of sin from us is closely connected with the dissolution of the power of that being in us and over us. The Son of God came "for this purpose, that" he might accomplish such a dissolution. What makes the allusion much more emphatic is, that the whole history of sin among men and in the world is regarded as one great system which the devil has been uprearing from the beginning; and which even the Son of God, appearing manifest on the scene, could not overturn without an atoning death. There is nowhere outside the Apocalypse so full and explicit a statement of the relation of the death of Christ to the empire of evil. Elsewhere we have the idea of a redemption from the power of darkness and a rescue from the power of Satan. Here the thought is more emphatic: the λύειν of our deliverance became the λύειν of the enemy's dissolution. Then the New Testament ends with a clear testimony to the personality

of Satan as the head of the confederacy of evil, and to the mysterious overthrow of (by) the cross which "cast him out" and made the Incarnate Son of God "the Prince of this world" in his stead. This is an aspect of the atoning work which in some modern theology is summarily dispatched or resolved into the lingering echoes of ancient superstition. The representatives of this more enlightened theology make their sport of the personal Satan in the wilderness and at the cross. They point to the fact that, for many hundreds of years after the departure of the apostles, the true doctrine of the atonement was much darkened by the notion that the price was paid to the devil, as in a certain sense the immemorial lord of the world. We are quite ready to acknowledge and mourn over that perversion. But still the fact remains that among the last testimonies of the apostle who wrote the "spiritual gospel" is one that assigns to Satan his clear and distinct place, as in some most important sense the representative of human sin and the power from which our Saviour died to set us free.

It is very easy, however, to go to the other extreme and over-estimate this witness. We must be on our guard against pressing the interpretation of "destroy" too far. Destruction, in the sense of annihilation and utter abolition, is not in the word; indeed, it is not in any of the words that are used to signify the suppression of evil and of the father of it. It is not said that the purpose of the Son of God was to destroy Satan, or to remove every trace of the effects of sin from the universe. That is a consummation which is not opened up in any prophetic vista: that prediction is not to be found in the opened or the sealed roll. It is said that the Stronger than he will bind Satan and unloose his plans—if we may thus attempt to indicate the literal play on the words. There will be a dissolution, a breaking up, a subversion of his scheme, and a collapse of his empire. As an organized opposition to the Redeemer's sway it will be dissolved like a baseless fabric: though the poet's words can be no further quoted, all authority and power shall be put down; there shall be no open and avowed opposition to the divine will; evil shall be "silent in darkness;" and a second time shall Satan be bound, now not for a thousand years, but forever. And all this shall be the result of that atoning death which gave the Incarnate

Son of God the rightful authority over the race redeemed by him.

This remarkable testimony, however, must not be left thus. What after all stamps it with most importance is the confirmation it gives to the doctrine of the testimony preceding, that through the atonement all personal sin is to be taken away. The whole of the context is governed by that thought. Though the suppression of Satan's work in the world is included, certainly the neutralizing of his works within the believer's soul is not excluded. Here is the pendant and counterpart of that other witness. If the sins are our own, they are taken away from us by the power of Christ's redemption. If they are the works of Satan, the things in our heart and life of which it may be said that "an enemy hath done this," then they are to be brought to naught by the entrance of the Stronger than he. St. John does not go into the detail. He leaves the matter in its broad generality. He says nothing about internal redemption: he does not anywhere mention the word "redemption;" but he certainly purposes to convey the inspiriting truth that those who are born of God may be delivered from every trace of the work of Satan within them. Let any one read the whole with this idea in his mind. "He was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin:" what is that but an assurance that those who rely on the value of the atonement may, and must, share their Saviour's freedom from sin? "He was manifested to destroy the works of the devil:" what is that but an assurance that all which is "of the devil" we may expect to have removed from our regenerate souls, now become the temple of the indwelling Christ? All this belongs to this fourth aspect of the atonement.

V. The fifth takes us to an altogether different view of the great sacrifice; that, namely, which regards it as the supreme example and pattern of self-sacrificing devotion to the good of others. The words are: "Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." The whole sentence must be quoted; for the latter part of it materially affects the definition, limiting the intervention of our Saviour, in this passage at least, to that general self-suppression, self-surrender, and self-devotion, even unto death, which his servants are permitted, and indeed called

upon, to imitate. It is the passage as a whole that we take into account when we add this also to the unique testimonies to the atonement. The strong expression itself is St. John's own; rather, it is the Lord's, as his words are treasured by St. John. Only in his gospel and in the present quotation—for such we may call it—does the phrase occur. It was one of the Saviour's phrases, which he made and sanctified and sent into the world for our use; one whereby he signified that quality in his redeeming work which his people may share with him. About the same time that he first used it, he used another of a much deeper force: "the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." We see which of these Simon Peter ventured to copy: having heard both, he cried, "I am ready to lay down my life for thy sake." The apostle hardly knew then what he said; his generous word was like his noble act of throwing himself into the water; but at least it showed that he rightly understood his Master's meaning. And when his Master quoted back to him his own words, "Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake?" and further prophesied that, as the opposite of those words, he would "deny him thrice," we are confirmed in our judgment that the love which lays down life for others is what our Lord meant in the gospel and the evangelist means in the epistle.

Here, then, we have the apostle's sanction of the theory or explanation of the atoning intervention of the Incarnate Son that makes it the sublime exhibition of a perfect self-sacrifice for the benefit of the human race, the virtue of which lies in its power to evoke imitation in us. The theory takes many forms; and there is hardly one of them which has not its measure of truth. In the presence of a passage like this we must admit that the atonement was a perfect surrender and oblation of the human self to God; a perfect example of the exact opposite of the sin and selfishness of mankind; and, it may be added, a sublime reproof of human selfish separation from God; and, finally, even such a restitution on behalf of mankind as might be held in the estimate of Heaven to be a compensation or atonement for those who make it their own by copying it. All this, and more than this, might be drawn from the passage in favor of the view that reduces the virtue of the atonement to its

sublime moral influence. And if these words stood alone, or if they were inserted as the corrective of other words which were liable to be misunderstood, we should have to accept the beautiful theory.

But the text does not stand alone. It must not be taken out of its connection, as the very form of the sentence shows. For here we have another instance of that remarkable Ἐκεῖνος which is one of the characteristics of the epistle; and it cannot but mean, here at least, to refer back to that well-known Person who had been already referred to as the propitiation for the sins of men. Indeed, nearer than that, "the Son of God" claims to be the antecedent of this "He." Collating this with the other references we see that He who "laid down" life is the same who "lifted up" our sins; it is hardly possible to avoid noting the correlation between the *θεῖναι* and the *αἴρειν*. And what is said of this may be said of all the other passages which extol the example of the cross. They either state expressly, or they necessarily imply, that there is something behind infinitely deeper than the example. Moreover, they all teach that the example of self-sacrifice in Christ is related to the imitation of it as God is related to man. Take, for instance, the great passage on this subject in the Philippians, which is the closest of all parallels to our own. There St. Paul says, in the simplest manner possible, "Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." But there is a large interval between the "self-emptying" of the Son of God and the self-devotion of his imitating servants. So here: the old reading, with which we are familiar, is, "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us." If we must give up the words "of God," we have them presently afterward; and there can be no doubt that the strength of the argument lies there. "We love because he first loved us," is the heart of the epistle. But the love is not human love exhibited even by a divine-human person. To insist upon that is the great mistake of much modern theology. The love shown in our redemption is, as we now go on to see, the love that provided propitiation in the person of the Son of God and in his passion and death. Having accomplished that —but not until then—it is also our pattern.

We shall now pass on to that next exhibition. But before doing so must add a final word as to that which, after all, is the

specific peculiarity of our passage: that the love of Christ in the atonement must, if received into our hearts, produce in us the same kind of self-sacrificing love which he himself displayed. It is not only that we "ought," as a matter of propriety and decency: it is much more than that. "How dwelleth the love of God in him!" is not simply a rhetorical appeal. The benefit of the love of God in our redemption is not indeed conditioned by our loving him; but it necessarily produces fellowship with itself. All that St. Paul is in the habit of saying about our union with Christ in his sufferings and passion is here said by St. John in another way. We have the mind of Christ's atoning love also in us. We cannot have his love shed abroad in our hearts in its benefit only; we must have its very self, according to our degree. And this is part of the doctrine of the atonement.

VI. The largest and most comprehensive of our testimonies is now before us. And we shall find that, like the others, it introduces the great subject under a new aspect. Not that the words are new. The apostle conducts his discussion or meditation by repeating the same idea under different forms. With respect to our theme the blood is introduced twice, the propitiation twice, the Son of God twice, the manifestation twice, the love of God twice. Love has the pre-eminence here as every-where, and it rules the whole passage we now consider with an absolute sway. Yet not absolute; for here is precisely the specific and distinctive point in this passage that love presides over the mission of the Redeemer, providing for us a divine life which itself requires and presupposes a propitiation. For simplicity, and leaving the "life" for our last example, let us consider this as the final testimony of revelation to the supremacy of love in the atonement.

And first, the nature of God is manifested as love in the atonement. "God is love. Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." That here, for the first time in Scripture, God is said to be love, must needs awaken our keen attention. That love is an attribute of God, and as it were the bond of his perfections, has been said many times. It is more or less the melody of all revelation. But until now the highest note on the subject has been: "God so

loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life." Now this last testimony exactly joins on to that supreme one, and perfectly illustrates it. In no other sense is the nature of God love than in the intercommunion of the holy Persons of the Trinity. The manifestation of love in the mission of the Son rests upon this: that the Son is the object of the eternal love of the Father, and is given to us to be our life. We note that "the God" changes into "the Father" before the subject closes, as if it were an unconscious improvement or epexegesis of his own words. The truth appears in all its force if we combine two sayings: "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world;" "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son." But of this we cannot "speak particularly;" suffice that whatever attributes are displayed in the atonement, the atonement is the gift of what is immeasurably more than an attribute, the only-begotten Son of God himself.

But we cannot omit the attribute. "Not that we loved him, but that he loved us, and sent his Son:" where the emphasis lies on the origination of the purpose of God in love. Love in all things has the pre-eminence, and here pre-eminently. We cannot conceive a more express and formal statement on the subject than that which thus closes the New Testament. It seems like a final declaration, the force of which is to be thrown back on all that preceded, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Old. It might occasionally seem as if there were in the divine mind itself a reconciliation and harmonizing of the attributes; as if the holiness which guards the divine nature would not suffer the love to go forth without first being satisfied. Those who hold that the atonement—or reconciliation—was first pre-eminently, and in a certain sense only, in God, have very much in their favor. The entire family of καταλλαγή and λύτρον terms—none of which does St. John use—look that way, and it is well known that this idea in many forms, and with many modifications and alleviations, appears largely in systematic theology. But St. John in this last testimony throws around the doctrine an effectual defense. And it is a defense which had never been so effectually thrown around it before; for this is the striking peculiarity here, that

St. John links together the love and the propitiation. Herein is the supremacy of love, that God sent his Son, the ἱλασμός. The very propitiation itself that holiness requires love provided and sent. This is more than saying that "God so loved the world as to send his Son," that "God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us;" more because the very essence of the propitiation — that which brings God near by hiding sin, or by bringing God near hides the sin—is sent by the love of God, is indeed the very love of God in the person of his Son. Nothing in St. Paul's doctrine of "redemption" is given up; the price which our salvation cost was exacted and paid down. Though St. John does not use such terms, their full meaning is contained in the "propitiation." Nothing in St. Paul's doctrine of "reconciliation" is given up; the laying aside of the divine displeasure or "wrath"—that is, in other words, the looking upon him with judicial as well as fatherly kindness, is retained, and with even more than its own strength, in the ἱλασμός. In fact, all the methods adopted in the New Testament to assert and vindicate and make attractive the love of God in our salvation are here, so to speak, bettered and perfected. "God is love" and "herein is love" are two phrases which never had been spoken as thus connected in all the course of revelation.

Before passing on, we must note that in this last formal testimony to the atonement St. John places it in the middle position between two other great definitions of the mediatorial intervention of the Son of God. Here is the pith and essence of the whole in the midst: the love which is only not said to propitiate itself, out of which at least the propitiation flows. This is accompanied by two of the most universal statements of the Redeemer's work; on either side one. We may take them in what order we please. As they were written by St. John, the only-begotten Son was sent "that we might live through him:" "life" is the largest and most compendious definition of the object of the mission, the positive benefit being predominant. This is followed, on the other side of the ἱλασμός of the cross, by the declaration that the Father sent his Son "as the Saviour of the world." This expression, which like "taking away the sin," carries us back to the beginning

of St. John's gospel when the Samaritans use it—their early testimony and the Baptist's being here at the end remembered and echoed—also gives a large and compendious definition, the negative benefit being prominent. But the point is that the ἱλασμός is "in the midst:" to be a Saviour he must be a propitiation, and as a propitiation he gives us life. But this leads to the last of St. John's testimonies, the last in all revelation, to the virtue of the atonement.

VII. The link of transition to this is, as we have hinted, the word "life," which began the epistle by its application to Christ, and now ends it by its application to the Christian. That life, eternal life, is the supreme benefit of God in his Incarnate Son to man. If there is one sentence of the New Testament which may be said to be the conclusion of the whole matter, it is here: "The witness is this, that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life." This witness, however, traced backward, is found to be triune: "the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." Still going backward, we find that the Spirit is isolated or eliminated, and made distinct, as being the supreme interpreter of the death of the Son of God through which we have our life. Then there remain "the water and the blood," together as the one atonement, but yet distinct; "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not in [with] the water only, but in [with] the water and in [with] the blood." Here John, who does not mention the cross, places us nevertheless beneath it, and side by side with himself when his dying Lord beheld him "standing by." What he saw after the "It is finished" was uttered—that is, the wonderful sight which he beheld after the piercing of the sacred side—he bids us also behold. It is as it were the last view of the cross the New Testament gives us: the symbolical presentation of the whole mystery of the atonement. What the great miracle of living streams out of a dead side meant St. John does not fully declare in his gospel. He contents himself there by referring the whole to the fulfillment of prophecy concerning the paschal lamb and the pierced Fellow of Jehovah, and by declaring the unspeakable solemnity of his word: "There came out blood and water. And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he

knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe." Who can pass from that "witness" in the gospel to this "witness" in the epistle without feeling that the apostle is alluding to the same great symbolical "witness of God" concerning the life which flows from death, which is really the very essence of the atonement.

We need not curiously ask why the order is inverted, and the water precedes the blood. In the sacrifice of our redemption they simply flow together; the water as the stream which signifies our new birth in Christ, "springing up within us as a well of water unto everlasting life." To use St. Paul's phraseology, our fellowship with his death is our fellowship with his life; and crucified with him we have in us the living stream from his dead side, the life of the Son of God. That is to John the supreme if not the only meaning of water as a symbol: "the washing of water" is an elementary principle that he has left far behind. With him all washing is with "blood;" and, indeed, not with him only, but with all the apostles, for they all unite in testifying that "he has washed us from our sins in his blood." And thus the New Testament ends—as we venture humbly to think—with a "testimony of God," given by the Spirit to St. John, confirming the meaning of the witness given by the miracle after the Saviour's death; to the effect that for ever and ever, as long as man's sin shall need it, the benefit of the atonement flows for it as the washing away of all the guilt and defilement of his sin by the blood of Jesus, and the renewing of his nature by the Spirit of life in Jesus, whose symbol is the water. And it will bear repetition, that the two combined forms, "by water and blood" and "in the water and in the blood," signify the unity of the one stream of life in the diversity of the two streams of purgation from sin and removal of spiritual death.

Lastly, it will appear from what has been said, that this final testimony to the atonement views it chiefly, if not solely, in its relation to the believer who partakes of its benefit through his union with Christ. The water and the blood flow together, and he who receives the one receives the other. The symbols, therefore, do not so much represent the relation of our Lord's death to the world as its relation to those who by it are saved. Hence, perhaps, the priority of the "water," as well as the

emphasis afterward laid on the "life" alone. The expiation of the precious blood avails for the whole world; it was provided for mankind, and its benefit is more or less shared by every man that lives. But it is not so with the life, of which the water was the emblem. It is true that Christ is the life of the world in a certain sense. But not in this sense. Not in the sense of the symbolical water that flowed concurrently with the expiatory stream. What we are saying may seem at first to introduce a far-fetched and hyper-mystical distinction. But from any such charge we must make our appeal to St. John himself, who closes his epistle and the whole of Revelation by making this very distinction as emphatic as words can make it. The meaning of the testimony, he says, is this—that "God has given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." Elsewhere, whether in his gospel or in his epistle, the efficacy of the blood for the world at large is a theme that is always in his view. But here, at the very close, he confines the sacred streams within their narrower channels, and makes them flow together into the cleansed and regenerated nature of the believer in Christ. "He that hath the Son hath the life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life." And this theme he pursues, with varying emphasis, right down to the close.

We have been examining, through the prism of this final document, the several rays that make up the doctrine of the atonement. But when all is over, and we look away from each in particular, they all blend into the one light which we may, without impropriety, call "the light of life." And it is the same light which fills up every document and every page of the New Testament, leaving no part dark. It is true that in this final summary and recapitulation there are some elements of illustration wanting. But their absence we have accounted for; the terms of redemption and reconciliation fail, but they are replaced by the strongest possible form of propitiation, which stands for all they signify, but carries all directly to the temple and the altar. And this last remark will perhaps help to explain the choice of St. John's phraseology. Nearly all his words are of the Old Testament mintage, and nearly all his ideas have the *χρίσμα* of the ancient sanctuary. Not indeed all that bears indirectly on the subject,

but literally all that directly touches it: the "advocate" and "the destroying the works of the devil" are hardly an exception. His apostolic brethren gathered up illustrations from human jurisprudence and forensic procedure: St. John takes us back to the temple from which our religion came. But it is hardly necessary to say that he has left very much of the temple phraseology of atonement unused. Only two or three sublime ideas express all his mind: blood, propitiation, taking away sin, issuing from love and ending in life, are almost all. Altar, sacrifice, high-priest, holiest, sprinkling, and many more are as absent as if Christianity had so learned the substance as to comparatively neglect the shadows.

One thing, however, is stamped upon the whole document: that the atonement enters essentially and vitally into the entire economy of the new life. There is no book of the New Testament which makes the propitiation of Christ so absolutely all-pervading: it is the beginning and the ending, and fills up all the interval. In other books the redeeming act appears here and there; in this it is every-where. In other books there are ecclesiastical discussions apart, and chapters of ethical application; here every topic is connected with the mission of the Son to save mankind, and all duties are enforced by the argument "herein is love." The blood is sprinkled in the first paragraph, and it flows in the last. That first paragraph announced the manifestation of the Word of Life; but we find that he "came in the flesh" for the propitiation of God for sin; and the conclusion of the whole matter is, that "he came by water and blood," as if his coming was not perfect until he reached his goal, the cross. But we may hope to show this more fully by a paraphrase blending our seven testimonies into one.

The design of the manifestation of the Word, as preached in the Gospel, is to restore us to fellowship with God. Sin has kept us in the outer darkness, but the blood of the Son of God incarnate in our nature avails for the cleansing away of all human sin. That blood, however, was shed on earth once and forever. Its abiding virtue is represented by the person of the Advocate in heaven, through whose intercession the faithful Father forgives the sin and cleanses the defilement of all who ask him, even of those who, once pardoned, have

sinned again. He was manifested on earth sinless to bear our sins, and his sinlessness is the pattern to which the virtue of his cleansing blood conforms us. That work the Saviour is carrying on, and will perfect; so entirely perfect it that the works of the devil in the souls of his people shall be altogether abolished and done away. The source of the atonement is love; and the love which rescues us from sin and Satan must be within us the spring of perfect devotion to each other. We must be one with Christ in the love of his self-sacrifice; and our whole life must be a reflection of his charity. The eternal nature of God provided the Son of his love to be the sufficient propitiation on account of sin; the virtue of his death and intercession restores to us our forfeited life, saving us from the consequences of all our sins. But this virtue is not simply in the union of the sinless Son with our nature. He came in the flesh that through his death we might have the cleansing virtue of his blood and the life-giving virtue of his Spirit. Witness the last testimony of God given from the dead side of the Redeemer, whence issued the united though not mingled streams of water and blood.

There is something unspeakably solemn in the appeal of this last page of the Bible to the testimony of God concerning his Son, the atonement, and the life. And the force of that appeal applies to the whole of the epistle which thus closes. To us it seems as if the Holy Ghost would end his inspiring ministry at the very cross, and teach us there the eternal truth that we have our life in the Son through his propitiation. Whether LIFE or PROPITIATION is written in larger letters we can hardly say; they are both alike clear and distinct, and certainly not the one without the other. Much of our current theology seeks to disjoin these: accepting life through the Son, but rejecting the atonement by which he "came" to bring it. Our Lord says to us in this final testimony, "I am the Propitiation and the Life."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

UNIVERSITIES *VERSUS* COLLEGES.

All who have given attention to current discussions on education have seen signs of unsettling the old and time-honored courses of study which have till recently been accounted requisite for a "liberal education." That there should be changes in these things is only natural, as a result of the changes that have occurred in almost every thing pertaining to learning and to the affairs of society. The range of human knowledge has been very much enlarged during the not remote past, and the educated man of the present day must be much more widely learned than was one of the same nominal class three hundred, two hundred, or even one hundred years ago. These facts, therefore, compel the most conservative to consent to certain modifications of the prescribed courses of collegiate studies, and their adaptations to the new conditions; and they also show reasons why the requirements for college degrees should be much larger than formerly.

Our college system, it is well known, grew out of the conventual schools of the Dark Ages, and even since the revival of learning in Europe it has been the principal agency for the promotion of the best forms of education: and though it has preserved its essential identity, it has nevertheless submitted to new adjustments as these have been called for by the changes brought about by time, and by the wants of the ever-changing conditions of society. American colleges, as they were projected in colonial times, were copied after those of the mother-country; but of necessity they began at a comparatively low grade, and they also lacked the compactness of organization and the social articulation of the colleges of the old countries, which were the outgrowths of a more advanced civilization, and usually were appendages of the State Churches. As by virtue of the accepted universal liberty in all things ecclesiastical the number of independent sects have been multiplied beyond all reasonable necessity; so by a like liberality in respect to educational institutions, there have come to be the projects, and often the feeble beginnings, of almost innumerable schools claiming to be of collegiate grade, some of the least considerable ones calling themselves "universities," though often, as to their courses of actual instruction, very little more than primary schools. And yet, with all their diversities among themselves, there has prevailed among all such institutions a remarkable unity of general character and design, substantially following, in respect to both the studies pursued and the methods of their administration, the forms and examples of our oldest and best

American colleges. Nearly all of them have made the mathematics and the Latin and Greek languages their staple studies, with some attention to English grammar and rhetoric, and a very little to philosophy and the elements of social science and natural history. And from these common elements, with incidental variations and additions, the college system of the country has advanced to its present *status*. The mathematics and the two classical languages are still the foundation-stones of the somewhat advanced superstructure of our college studies, though upon these much of modern learning has been superimposed.

Our college system, as now developed, is largely a home production. It is in many things not unlike the English and Scotch systems, as seen in their so-called universities, and yet the differences are quite as marked as the points of likeness; and it is entirely diverse, in form and kind and purpose, from the German university system. These things should not be lost sight of in the discussion of the wants and capabilities of our American colleges. Great changes have been made, and still greater and radical changes are talked of; in what directions and how far these should be carried are practical questions of not inconsiderable interest. Respecting them wise men will make haste slowly.

The average American college of the current century is a school to which youth and young men of fourteen years old and upward resort for study and instruction. The course of study usually extends over four years; a fixed grade of preparatory training is required before admission, including the usual primary and high-school studies, with a mastery of the elements of arithmetic and plain geometry, and the first principles of algebra, and also a well-advanced introductory course in Latin and Greek. Of the four collegiate years, the first two are chiefly devoted to the three fundamental studies, with, however, more or less attention given to other departments. In nearly all cases the studies of these two years have been obligatory upon every student who proposed to pursue the course required for the regular degrees. For the latter two years some liberty of selection is usually allowed, though in most cases nearly the same subjects are pursued by all. Attendance upon recitations and lectures is required, and a register of each student's standing in his class is kept, ascertained by the record of his recitations, and by special examinations, and a minimum grade is predetermined, which must be reached in order to advancement from a lower to a higher class: and because these examinations usually occur only once a year, the full time of four years becomes a kind of necessary condition to the completion of the course required before graduation.

With this general plan our American colleges have proceeded with only slight and incidental modifications till comparatively recently, and indeed scarcely any have as yet departed from the methods just indicated; but all of the larger and better colleges have very considerably increased the matter of their teaching, and a few of the principal ones have added departments and lectureships that approximate to the character of universities. And now the demand is heard in various quarters for still greater

changes; in fact, for a "new departure in college education," so wide and radical as to constitute a reconstruction that will necessitate the destruction of that which has been hitherto. While none ought to oppose any real progress in education, nor to object to any needed readjustments for that purpose, still in so important a matter changes should be made only after careful examination, and in answer to clearly ascertained requirements.

The German system of education has no schools of a grade corresponding to our colleges. Its *gymnasia*, which hold the place of our high schools and academies, carry their pupils as far as the end of the second year's course in our colleges, and in these the studies are nearly the same for all. After completing the course in the *gymnasium*, the young man ceases to be specifically a "pupil," and he proceeds to such university as he may have selected to pursue certain chosen studies, usually in view of a selected profession,—by attending lectures, being aided, perhaps, by private tutors. University students are entirely free from all preceptorial surveillance as to their manners or morals, nor are they compelled to attend the lectures for which they have been matriculated; nor is their success or failure to obtain a degree determined by their diligence or proficiency, but solely by examinations. The entire unlikeness of that system to ours is obvious, and the substitution of that for this would require a more definite ordering of our universities and the reduction of most of our colleges to high schools—to *gymnasia*. Whether or not any thing of that kind is practicable, and if so whether it is desirable, are open questions that may well be considered; but the introducing of the German university system into our American colleges, and grafting it upon the prescriptive college system, many experienced educators believe would be altogether and intensely evil.

The time is perhaps at hand when a regular system of university instruction should be established in this country. Already some half-dozen of our most advanced institutions have become universities in fact, but still holding on to their original characters and work as colleges,—a process by which some of the cherished, and as many believe the most valuable, functions of the latter are of necessity sacrificed. To effect that, admission to our colleges should be made much easier than it now is in all really good institutions. This is also demanded for other considerations, so that the second year's studies would be about the same as are now those of the first. This would afford a very great relief to the large and desirable class of candidates for college who lack opportunities at their homes for the thorough preparation now required; and it would secure for all a better grade of preparation than can now in many cases be obtained. Four years in college, after entering at the point indicated, devoted with very little variation to the common curriculum, almost no electives being permitted except in the last year, would secure the necessary amount of drill, and also sift out the incompetents, and the better prepare the successful ones for their special and professional studies at the universities or professional schools. The relief to the colleges by

this process in labor and expense would be a large consideration, while the advantage in morals and discipline would be simply incalculable. To expose a youth in his teens to the unrestraint and the proverbial recklessness of university life could scarcely fail of the most disastrous consequences; and to give him up to choose what studies he will pursue would be, in many cases, to secure failure in all.

It is well known that most American colleges are the creatures of ecclesiastical bodies, and that it was intended by their founders that they should be in some sense ecclesiastical as well as religious institutions. It must, however, be obvious that if changed into universities their specifically religious character will be eliminated. It is in the very nature of university life that the student is a free man, and subject only to the restraints of the civil law. That such an institution should require of him attendance upon any form of religious services would be contrary to its character and genius; to appoint an hour for public prayer, attendance upon which should be simply voluntary, would probably only emphasize the prevailing religious indifference. Church-going could not be enjoined, and it would in most cases become exceptional in practice, and the Sabbath would soon be made in fact quite the opposite of a holy day. We are speaking of collections of youths, boys, and callow young men, newly removed from the restraints of home life and thrown upon their good pleasure, and among associations in which the least scrupulous would naturally become the leaders. It would be difficult to say why the Church should devote its labors and funds to maintain institutions over whose inmates it can exercise no discipline, and within which it may not rebuke evil manners without being told that its interference is an impertinence. Already the religious element in not a few nominally Christian colleges appears to be a vanishing quantity; but are we already prepared to surrender the form and pretense of holding on to a few shreds of the faith of the fathers? If religious teaching and discipline must be banished from our colleges, what use has the Church for them?

EDUCATION FOR THE MINISTRY.

It is a question of primary importance how to secure an adequate supply of ministers for the pastoral and missionary work of the Church. This requirement includes not only the requisite number of professional ministers, and their intellectual and spiritual qualifications, as these things are usually considered, but, besides these, also their personal adaptation to the incidental conditions and demands of the work to be done. We hear much about the need of thorough educational preparation for the ministry, with a sort of tacit assumption that, as a general rule, ministerial ability will correspond with the fullness of the scholarly preparations that may be made for the work. And, accordingly, most of the denominations have their theological schools, and in most of these courses of study are prescribed, usually

covering three years, and, in order to gain admission to such institutions, there is commonly required a pretty thorough academical training—in some cases only college graduates being admitted—or, if admitted to the classes and lectures, the regular academic degree is not granted to any others. It may be wise to look into this subject more carefully than has been customary, and to inquire whether or not the methods now in use are competent to the task set for them, and also whether other provisions may not be needed for supplying the churches with that much-talked-of commodity, "the ministry required for the times."

The desirableness of thorough biblical and theological scholarship in the ministry must be conceded. No associated body of Christians can, without this, hope to maintain its proper place as a leader of the Christian thought of the age, nor to make itself properly felt among those who must not only direct the thinking, but also conserve the orthodoxy and the wholesome spirituality, of the churches. It is well, therefore, that there shall be schools for the thorough training of candidates for the ministry, and that some at least of these shall pursue courses of instruction and study upon which only well-prepared students can either enter, or, if admitted, pursue to their own advantage. High-toned theological seminaries, such as most that are now maintained aspire to be, must be continued, since they are necessary in order to supply the churches with an indispensable class of ministers; though that the number of such institutions is beyond the demand is evinced by the paucity of students in attendance upon many of them; and it is equally evident that, of the required supply of recruits to the Protestant pulpits of the country, these seminaries prepare only a comparatively small proportion.

Leaving all others out of the account, we have now to consider the theological schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in relation to the supply of ministers to its Conferences and Missions. The annual number of recruits to the traveling ministry, for the last decade, will average not far from seven hundred. Of these less than a hundred for each year have come from the three principal and only full-fledged schools of theology. Perhaps half as many more have been college graduates or their equivalents, showing that each year over five hundred candidates enter our ministry without a liberal or classical education. And, while it is quite evident that most of the chief places—the General Conference offices, the chief educational positions, and the principal pulpits—will be supplied from the educated portion, the work that must be done by the other three fourths is quite as needful, and not less valuable, to the Church and the world. There is cause to suspect that this heavy contingent, really the rank and file of the ministerial host, has not received as much consideration as its importance would justify. They are received as they come, having almost every degree of school learning, from the simplest elements to the grade next below that of classical scholars; but in respect to their preparation the Church makes no provisions, nor does it seem to be much concerned about it. That matters have gone along as well as they have under this order of things is not a sufficient reason why nothing more

should be done about it. Our fathers got on tolerably well, for a long time, without any theological schools, and yet it was deemed expedient to provide such institutions; and now the question is forcing itself into notice, whether something should not be done for the promotion of education for the ministry of a less advanced grade than that offered by our regular theological schools.

It is a matter clearly established by the stern logic of facts, that the calling and office of the Christian ministry must be accessible to others than liberally educated men: and this remark applies with almost as much force and fullness to other denominations as to our own; and, with a single exception, all the churches provide for this necessity by admitting and ordaining those who have received only a limited academical training; and this one excepted case (the Presbyterian), with a beautiful inconsistency, will admit such men to its ministry if only, instead of coming to it directly, they will make their approach indirectly through the medium of some less exacting body. It is well known that some of the less educated ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been admitted on their credentials, or with very little examination, to the Presbyterian ministry, who have also taken good positions among their new associates, and yet, had they come up from the laity of that Church, they must have been refused.

An "illiterate" ministry is certainly not to be desired, but just how much is included within that designation is not very definitely ascertained; and because the work of the ministry is various, and not uniform in its demands at all times and places, the qualifications for that work may also be various, and its less exacting positions may offer the needed apprenticeship for higher places and more exacting conditions. The history of the Methodist ministry teaches a valuable lesson on this subject.

The thought and sentiment of American Protestantism is, that the minister shall be a man of the people; and, while his better learning and culture should qualify him to act as an educator among them, it is not desirable that he should be too far removed from them by his tastes and associations and modes of thinking. Respecting the subject under consideration a writer in the "New York Evangelist" not long ago made some important suggestions. Recognizing the peculiar and undesirable relations of the Presbyterians to this subject, because they will receive only thoroughly educated men, he remarks that among the difficulties in the way of providing a proper ministry "the first is to find men adapted to the work—men willing to engage in it, and who have not been disqualified by their previous circumstances and culture, so that they cannot come down to the plane of thinking, living, and the pastoral work required by the vast majority of those among whom they have to labor." It is a mistake to presume that all is coarse or crude or unintelligent that does not lie along the plane of mental existence in which the young man of five-and-twenty, who has been in schools all his life-time, lives and moves and has his being; and it is perhaps for no fault of either party that the newly graduated young minister fails to satisfy the requirements

of those whom he would serve, till the lapse of time spent in the school of actual life, with the exercise of common sense, enables him both to unlearn and learn, and so to become adapted to his calling.

Another and perhaps a more formidable difficulty is found in the financial aspects of the case. A large proportion of our "appointments," whether circuits or stations or missions, afford but very meager support to those who serve them. Saying nothing about the wisdom or unwisdom of the administration by which a vast number of starvation appointments have been created, the fact remains that probably in a majority of the places to which ministers are sent the allowance for support is less than the pay of a good mechanic, and his people have no conception that such a provision is altogether insufficient. Here we will again adopt the language of the writer just referred to. Regularly educated ministers, he remarks, "are men of culture and refinement and of scholarly tastes, with wives and children of like disposition, and with innumerable wants springing out of their peculiar circumstances. To all this no one raises an objection, provided they can be gratified. But for the purpose now spoken of they are unfitted; they are not able to live on the salary which these churches can pay."

Hitherto the Methodist ministry has been chiefly recruited directly from the local churches, sometimes without any special school-training for the candidates, and oftenest with only a moderately advanced English education; and our principal resource for candidates is still what it ever has been. More than half our annual supplies belong to the technically "uneducated" class, for whom, though they are not usually without a fair English education, the Church makes no provision. The chasm, in point of learning, between the average young men of the churches and any of our schools for ministerial education, is entirely too broad to be spanned by them, and, as a result, those who have looked forward to the ministry as their divinely designated life-work, in most cases either give it up in despair, or else they seek—usually successfully—to get into the traveling connection with only very meager preparations, and so the average grade of the ministry is kept at a relatively low level. A young man full of animal vitality, with some zeal and a ready utterance, and with the disregard for delicate living that often characterizes such persons, will usually make headway—especially if unincumbered by a family—with only a very moderate stock of learning. But these conditions are only for a little while. In the course of a few years the blood cools,—possibly the zeal abates when the novelty of the situation is gone—the stock of preaching matter is not equal to the demand, and the glow of freshness fades away. Then, with larger requirements for living, usually with a family to support, better appointments become a necessity on the side of the minister, while abler ministers are demanded by the churches. But there is a better side to this picture. Some of those who begin at a pretty low level of learning, by diligence and unstinted labor overcome their early disadvantages and become able ministers of the Gospel; but the indomitable will power, and the persistency of efforts in the face of discourage-

ments required in such a herculean labor, make such successes remarkable, and also explain why they are so few. During the first half-century of Methodism young ministers were usually "junior preachers," associated with those who acted toward them as incentives and instructors; but now the callow youth from the farm or shop is thrust out in all his inexperience into the pastorate, a scriptural *episcopos*, to prepare and deliver two or three sermons each week, and to perform all the high functions of his office as best he may. That so many of them succeed as well as they do is greatly to their credit; perhaps in some cases their difficulties become their best teachers; and yet it would be desirable, were it possible, that better results should be reached at less expense.

These reflections force upon us the inquiry, whether it is not possible to do something for the better preparation for their work of that large proportion of our ministerial candidates to whom our present provisions offer no help. The young man with a plain English education, standing at the threshold of active life, and contemplating the Christian ministry as his possible calling, finds an appalling array of difficulties before him. Unless he shall give up in despair he is shut up to one of two alternatives—to enter the ministry unprepared, or else to fight his way to an education. If he can command the necessary means he may, in from eight to ten years, compass the required course of study, and leave the theological seminary at twenty-eight or thirty years old with the diploma of a bachelor of divinity. Some have done so, and found their profit in it. But this is a scheme which only a few will realize. Many *can* not, most *will* not, and perhaps nearly all *better* not, try to do it. But is not a better alternative than any of these possible? May there not be devised and executed a course of training for the ministry less extensive indeed, and, in respect to high scholarship, less valuable, which may be entered upon with no other preparation than an ordinary English education, and compassed in one, two, or three years, as time and circumstances may require or admit? Something of this sort existed among the English Dissenters of the last and the earlier half of this century; and Mr. Spurgeon has long maintained such a school with highly satisfactory results. Is not the establishment and maintenance of one or several training schools for candidates for the ministry, admittance into which shall be granted to such as have only a common English education, and in which all the teaching shall be in the English language, among both the necessities and the possibilities of our Methodism? Our regular theological schools ought not to abate any thing from the high standard they have assumed; nor should the proposed schools, for obvious reasons, be connected with any others. The Church needs a great many more pastors and teachers than it has places for scholars, and, though the two characters may co-exist in the same person, still they are distinct and sometimes incompatible. Such schools as suggested would not make *scholars*, nor would they remove their pupils, in their sympathies of tastes and thoughts, from the common people. Those instructed in them would know how to be simple in their manners and economical in their modes of living; their

plane of thought, though higher than that of those whom they serve, would still be not entirely above the reach of their people, and so these would themselves be drawn upward.

The necessities of the case we have here considered seem to demand some better provisions than the Church has now to offer—which fact is our apology. Let him who can, propose a better remedy.

CHRISTIAN UNITY.

The most precious truths are often rendered the most pernicious when perverted and misapplied, and of this the idea of the unity of the Christian Church, as it is often presented, is a conspicuous example and proof. Our Lord's prayer to the Father, in behalf of his people—"that they may be one, even as we are"—finds a response in every devout heart, and by all such no other article of the venerable creed which, from its character rather than its history, is called the Apostles', is more heartily uttered than that which recognizes the unity of "the Holy Catholic Church." The truth so embodied and set forth is indeed precious; and yet out of this, by that fatal ingenuity of falsehood through which the truth of God has been so often and ruinously changed into a lie, it has been, and still is, made the instrument of ecclesiastical pretentiousness and hierarchical tyranny, by which the unity of the body has been rendered impossible, and its members arrayed against each other. The fundamental idea of the Reformation is a protest against this kind of Christian unity, and the assertion in its stead of another and essentially different form of oneness in Christ, which indeed is inseparable from the Christian life.

Among the most pleasing signs of the times throughout evangelical Christendom is the increasing disposition among believers to recognize the spirit and image of Christ wherever displayed, without respect to ecclesiastical distinctions. By a common, though unspoken, consent, it seems to be practically agreed among the evangelical denominations as never heretofore, "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," which is probably both the result and the further inspiration of an increasing depth and breadth of spiritual life. The prominence thus given to what is personal and experimental in religion, over what is only formal and ecclesiastical, relatively depreciates the latter and elevates the former, so that denominational lines no longer separate fellow-believers in respect to their religious sympathies. And to all such "the Holy Catholic Church" is an ideal to be earnestly desired, but which can be only spiritually realized, being itself, in form and spirit, "the communion of saints," the "city of God," the family of the faithful seed. The word *church* has become the designation of two distinct entities—one a politico-ecclesiastical organism, of which the Church of Rome is the most fully developed type, and the other a spiritual family, of which Christ is the head, and the Holy Spirit, revealed in faithful souls, the life and uni-

fying energy. Each of these two distinct entities is tolerant of the other only as that is made subordinate to itself. Ecclesiasticism as high as that of Rome readily accepts the presence and activities of the Spirit, but only within, and subject to, the hierarchy; and the highest forms of spiritual Christianity confesses the utility and the sacredness of ecclesiastical order, but requires that it shall be in all things subordinate to things spiritual. The word "unity," when used by these two parties, indicates entirely different ideas, and therefore its use is often disastrously misleading.

Christ's prayer for his disciples, "that they may be one," must be interpreted according to his own words respecting the company of his people. In his discourse found in the tenth chapter of John's gospel, he describes his Church, in its relations to himself and as to its composition, by the figure of a flock under the care of a shepherd. That flock was to be wider than the Jewish fold—other sheep were to be added to it, and still all were to be *one*—not one *fold*, but one *flock*—a remarkable distinction, though little noticed hitherto. Alford, himself an Anglican Church dignitary, remarks on this passage: "The μία ποίμνη (one *flock*) is remarkable —not μία αὐλή (one *fold as characteristically but erroneously rendered in our English version*—not ONE FOLD, but ONE FLOCK. [It is rendered correctly in the Revised Version.] Not one exclusive inclosure of an outward church, but one flock, all knowing the one Shepherd, and known of him."

A more spiritual unity than that of outward association and organic union is often partially recognized even by Churchmen and hierarchists, though the "churchly" idea is by them usually kept in the foreground. Charles Wesley, who held, by turns, to both extremes, has beautifully expressed the spiritual unity of believers, as

> "Joined by the unction from above,
> In mystic fellowship of love;"

and also their aggregate unity, when he says:

> "Scattered o'er all the earth they lie,
> Till Thou collect them with thine eye,
> Draw by the music of thy name,
> And charm into a beauteous frame."

It is therefore a misapplication of language to apply Christ's prayer for the spiritual fellowship of those that should hear his voice in favor of the consolidation of all Christendom in a single ecclesiastical organism. It is not one *fold*, but one *flock*, that is called for; and the unity of the flock is in its kind and character, and its common ownership, much more than in its subjection to the oversight of any single under-shepherd, or association of such.

The distribution of Protestant Christendom into a variety of self-governing bodies—"denominations"—is by no means an unmixed evil; on the contrary, its compensating advantages are much more than equal to its infelicities. It is indeed the natural, and to some extent necessary, result of the Christian liberty which inheres in the nature and being of Protestantism. Its evils are on the surface, and therefore manifest, while those

of centralized hierarchies lie deeper and work out their destructive results in secret, till they are manifested in the forms of ecclesiastical despotism and soulless formality. No doubt this liberty of ecclesiastical subdivision is sometimes carried to excess—as in any case liberty is liable to be—and perhaps some of the minor sects are without any sufficient reason for their existence. But this cannot be affirmed of any one of the half-dozen —more or less—chief denominations in the country. By this variety a greater versatility, and a more complete adaptation to different tastes, and the effective utilization of national or ancestral associations, are secured. The fact that a Christian organization exists, and is successfully prosecuting the great work which the Head of the Church has designated, is itself a sufficient vindication of its right to be. But above all else is the consideration that this liberty of independent action, though sometimes too freely exercised, is the only alternative for and safeguard against a dangerous centralization of power, with its inevitable corruptions and abuses. Nor do these diversities of ecclesiastical forms and governments necessarily interfere with the real unity of the "body of Christ." Protestant Christianity is itself a unit, complete and solidified, with its one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.

It is a suggestive fact that in nearly every case the pleas for the ecclesiastical consolidation of universal Christendom come from those who expect that it will especially inure to the advantage of their own sect. The Church of Rome, which in its spirit is the least catholic of all the Churches, after resolving all Christian unity into its own hierarchical polity, demands that all Christians shall submit to its authority, or, failing to do so, to be turned over to something worse than the uncovenanted mercies of God. And the pretensions of the semi-Protestant Anglican Church, on both sides of the Atlantic, are scarcely less exclusive and arrogant: though occasionally there may be heard coming unofficially from some of that body honeyed words full of patronizing condescensions toward the "sects," with lachrymose regrets for the prevalence of "schism," and the rending of Christ's "seamless robe." But there is with all this no abatement of the claims that effectually unchurch all but those of their own organizations; and the terms of the union offered, and for which they so earnestly plead, is to all others unconditional surrender and absorption into THE Church. On similar conditions, with the requisite variations, the Baptists would not only consent to unite with any and all others, but after that had been done they would agree to free communion, since all Christians would then have become Baptists. A little close attention will detect the fact that a large share of what is heard about the wrong and reproach of "sectarianism" is itself the outgivings of a narrow bigotry, which arrogates to its own all excellences; or else it is the expression of a worldly ambition for the upbuilding of a great organization—perhaps to counterwork the designs of Romanism, perhaps to become a power in the state; or, more probably, to gratify somebody's personal ambition.

But the objections against ecclesiastical centralizations are not simply negative—that it is not called for; but rather they are positive and formi-

dable. No lesson of history is surer or more instructive than that ecclesiastical ambition is always to be distrusted, both because of its tendencies to growth, and also for its dangerous character when largely developed. The possession of worldly greatness invariably corrupts the Church; and whenever the Church becomes both powerful and corrupt, it is the most dangerous enemy that can menace society. Happily, the tendency of American public sentiment has hitherto been adverse rather than favorable to ecclesiastical pretensions; but with the growth of wealth and luxury, and the love of display, it is quite possible that that tendency may be reversed. Indeed, signs of such a change are already noticeable; and clearly no greater calamity could befall the Church than the favor of the fashionable world, unless, perhaps, its becoming an active partner in or a sharer of the spoils of the party politics of the times. The strength of the Church is proportioned to its separation from the world; and its best safeguard against temptations toward worldly affiliations is in having but little that worldly men covet to offer for their favor. Overgrown and closely compacted "denominations" may readily become hotbeds of ecclesiastical pride and worldliness, and, if so, they will soon prove to be both corrupt and corrupting. It is best, therefore, that our churches shall not be so closely conjoined that there shall be anywhere, or in any body's hands, any thing at all like a Protestant vaticanism. It is better to endure the incidental disadvantages of too much diffusion of governmental power than to incur the inevitable peril of overmuch concentration of authority—for "the ferment of the free is better than the quiet of despotism." At some future time we may look into the question of Methodist unity—along this same line.

BIBLE STUDY IN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Our American people are greatly averse to any thing that savors of religious influence exerted by the State. We are almost morbidly sensitive to the slightest suspicion of sectarianism, wherever the public is in any way responsible. As a consequence of this sentiment, all positive religious instruction is carefully inhibited in our public schools. The Bible, which by an overwhelming majority of our population is regarded as, in some way at least, a divine message to man, is nevertheless treated as a sectarian book, because some small sects do not believe in it, or because some other sects object to the version generally used. While the influence of venerated custom retains it nominally in some of our State schools, it is doubtless destined to be wholly, as it now is virtually, excluded. Many of our teachers are even chary and delicate in regard to any kind of moral instruction, lest they should be accused of inculcating the tenets of some religious party.

Now, for the most part, we shall have to submit to this exclusion as inevitable. We may protest against it as not merely negatively but posi-

tively irreligious and practically atheistic, and also as radically damaging to our education, making it fragmentary and unsymmetrical; but we shall probably accept it as the only alternative to doing away with our Common School system. Bad as this is, it is sorely aggravated by the subtle influence it is having on our private and even our own denominational institutions. Established as the latter have been in the interest of religion, it might seem that there need be no delicacy or restriction in the matter not only of general religious instruction, but in the inculcation of particular denominational views where it might be thought desirable. But the disposition to secularize education, not unnatural if unfortunate, in public schools, has gradually affected even the schools established by the Churches, and in which such a spirit is reprehensible because wholly incongruous with the radical design of such institutions. The cry of sectarianism has become so much a bugbear that even our sects are frightened by it out of all reasonable propriety. Our colleges formerly had at least some form of positive religious instruction—one recitation a week, throughout the course, in the Greek Testament, or in the evidences of Christianity. But even this has been abandoned in most of our colleges of late years, and there is nothing in the way of required study or examination—save perhaps a term in Evidences—in which they differ from the purely secular schools.

What is true of the colleges is also largely true of our secondary church schools. In a great proportion of them there is no such study of religion required as is the case even in the State schools of Germany and other European nations. We do not wish to be understood as characterizing our denominational schools as altogether irreligious. This would be palpably untrue. The religious sentiment is probably more prevalent than at almost any former time. And yet this is perhaps a thing to be complained of, that it is too much a sentiment, and not enough a deep, solid conviction. Some of us who have closely observed the life of our colleges from the outside, and yet under conditions favorable to accurate perception, have found reason to lament the something like a partial divorce between religion and morality which prevails. We do not mean that there is more immorality or fewer religious students than formerly, but that many of our religious students are less sensitive to moral obligations than is compatible with thoroughly settled religious principles.

There is also, as is naturally to be supposed under the conditions here set forth, among our young people in general a very great ignorance of the Bible. Only those who are called upon to examine students in this respect are aware how great this ignorance is. We have been astonished at the utter lack of intelligence in biblical matters which has been exhibited by young people belonging to Christian families and members of our Sunday-schools—not merely exceptionally dull persons, but bright, quick boys and girls of scholarly capabilities. We do not mean to say that this is universally the case. There are many exceptions, but only where there has been special care and parental training at home.

What we especially criticise is, the general absence of systematic religious instruction in our educational institutions. There is, to be sure, in

most of our schools, a requirement that the students attend devotional services daily, and public service on the Sabbath, and usually a Sunday-school exercise of some sort. But how far short this comes of meeting the real need will be seen if we compare it with the requirement respecting any subject which students are called upon to study. Were the students in natural history, or physics, or geometry, or the languages called together every day for fifteen minutes to hear the teacher read a page or two from the text-book, and on one day in the week they were expected to be examined, and, say, half or two thirds of a page specially assigned, but to the special study of which there was nothing more than a general moral obligation, and that scarcely enforced by any considerable motive, it is evident that by the large majority of students nothing would be learned in these branches that would be of any permanent avail.

We do not here plead for the study of technical theology or ecclesiasticism in our schools. We should even earnestly deprecate this. But it would seem that the study of the Bible after the approved methods followed in the study of secular history and literature, and similar branches, cannot be wisely neglected. It is remarkable that while in all our classical and college-preparatory schools the study of the ancient heathen religions is indispensable, the study of the religion of our own race and people is carefully tabooed. It is universally recognized as essential in the investigation of the history or literature of any race or nation that its religious system must be carefully studied. We know how much pains is taken by eminent scholars to ascertain all that can be known concerning the ancient religion of India. Sanhitas, Brahmanas, and Upanishads occupy years of the time of the ablest minds. The same devotion is paid to the religious systems of China, Persia, Egypt, and Scandinavia. It is felt that we are well rewarded for any reasonable effort to investigate the religions of even many semi-civilized or barbarous races. But the Bible, which underlies our whole modern civilization, and impregnates all its literature and the civil polities of its various nationalities, and as well affects our entire educational methods, and which, even if of only the same value as the ancient mythologies, could not be neglected without a marked deficiency in our system, is, with a few exceptions, excluded from the curricula of all our schools; and this, too, when it is regarded as the basis of the only genuine religion which God had given to man!

There are some symptoms of a reaction in this respect, though whether they are sufficient to promise a return to a more rational usage it is not yet easy to determine. But the exceptions are increasing. In some of the new Western colleges, notably some of those under the Congregationalist patronage, definite provisions are made for this systematic study of the Scriptures. In many of the seminaries and colleges for women the same arrangements are made, and that, too, more frequently than in those for men. In Wellesley College, a more thorough and efficient system of this study prevails than almost anywhere else. Two hours a week on different week-days are devoted to this, just as the same time is devoted to certain philosophical, scientific, or literary subjects. It may be added,

that in this institution the religious spirit blends with and affects more fully the whole course of training than in any other college with which we are acquainted.

Of course, in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal schools there is special attention paid to religious instruction, but it is for the most part catechetical and ecclesiastical, and not the study of the Bible in a general and scientific manner.

In the oldest of our Methodist academies, that at Wilbraham, Mass., there has been for the last six years a plan of Bible study in operation which, though limited in its range, has been eminently successful, and attended with the most gratifying results. It is a part of all the general courses of study, and the same regulations govern it as control in other studies, both as to recitations and term examinations. It requires four years to complete it at one recitation a week. The first year's course covers the patriarchal and Hebrew history to the death of Solomon. The second year completes the Hebrew history, and takes also the poetic and prophetic writings. The third year's study is the life of Christ as contained in the gospels, and taken in chronological order. The fourth year is devoted to the early propagation of the Gospel based on the Acts and the epistles, also taken in chronological order. Outlines have been prepared and printed to guide and aid the student, which consist substantially of a syllabus in the form of topics and suggestive questions calculated to present the subject somewhat freshly and in an orderly manner to the mind. Many of the outline lessons are preceded by brief introductions explaining or illustrating the general subject or some particular ecclesiastical or political or geographical fact alluded to, or throwing some light on contemporaneous history.

The methods of instruction pursued are the same as those usually adopted by our best teachers in the study of history, literature, and philosophy, and those who are familiar with our educational history are aware that these methods have greatly changed within the last thirty years. Each recitation covers about the same amount of ground covered by the same students in these studies. There is no encouragement to turn the class-room into a theological debating club on metaphysical and speculative subjects, or to take advantage of students who might object to being drawn into a class-meeting or an inquiry meeting. The object is to get at the simple thought and meaning of the writers, and to become familiar with the practical bearing of what is written.

The method of Bible study is elementary, and in a sense superficial. But to those who have observed its working in the institution referred to its effect, both intellectually and morally, has been most gratifying. It has certainly exceeded the expectation of its initiators. The wide difference between taking a somewhat extended portion of Scripture for study, as in other text-books, and taking only ten or fifteen verses, is almost incalculable. We find no fault with the latter method. For its peculiar purpose it is not to be contemned. But it is not a substitute for the scientific and comprehensive study of the sacred Scriptures.

This plan of study does not contemplate the use of commentaries, or the aid, to any great extent, of dictionaries and cyclopedias or other aids, except such as come from the instructors. It would be a considerable improvement on the method here instanced, and especially in the case of more advanced students, if it could be pursued on a more extensive scale. At Wellesley College, as we have seen, it is thus pursued, and the students have opportunity to consult a very great variety of the best helps to biblical study for which the fine library of the college furnishes ample facilities.

The plan adopted at Wilbraham, though not widely published, has been adopted by several colleges in the West under the patronage of the Congregationalists, and the outlines used at the former school are in use in these. The same is true of one of the best colleges for women in the State of New York, and also of another of our Conference seminaries in New England. In still another of our seminaries a plan is being matured, and a pecuniary foundation is already laid, for the especial qualification of Christian wôrkers. The study of the Bible in some such method as is here indicated will no doubt be a leading feature in this plan. We hail it as a most excellent omen of our religious educational progress. There is a demand for such a course of training in our churches and communities. Nothing better could be devised than a course of study not theological or merely catechetical, but preparing our young people who are hereafter to occupy important positions in the Church to fill these positions intelligently, efficiently, and honorably. S. M. G.

THE INCREASE OF CRIME.

In the "North American Review" for May, President J. L. Pickard, under the heading "Why Crime is Increasing," assumes and proves the designated fact, and also points out some of the conditions through which this most undesirable result has been reached. We shall be indebted to that article for some of his facts in what we now propose to write.

Though the apparent teachings of statistics are sometimes found, on closer inspection, to be fallacious and misleading, in this case no relief is gained by the most careful re-examinations of their details. Trustworthy reports show that in 1850 the proportion of persons in prison to the whole population of the country was as one to 3,442; in 1880 it was as one to 860, —a relative increase of just fourfold. As this shows not the number of offenses committed, but of judicial convictions, the question may be asked whether an improved administration of justice may not, at least in part, account for this apparently enormously large increase of punishable offenses. But not much relief can be gotten by such an inquiry, for any supposable improvement in the processes for detecting and punishing crime is much more than counterbalanced by the increased skillfulness of

criminals in evading the hand of justice. Apparently, therefore, the unwelcome fact must be accepted that crime has rapidly increased among us during the recent past; and it only remains for us to find out its cause or causes, and if possible to apply the needed remedies.

The composition of the population of the country has undergone very great changes within the past half-century through the infusion of a very large foreign element, chiefly consisting of persons very unlike the original American stock. That these new-comers, suddenly removed from the legal and domestic restraints in which they had before lived, and exposed to the peculiar temptations presented by their new conditions, with their unelevated intellectual and moral estate, should be drawn away to the commission of offenses against the laws, is no more than might have been anticipated; and the records of the courts and the prisons disclose the fact that a disproportionate number of the inmates of the prisons have been persons of foreign birth, or the children of such, brought up under their influence. That consideration will no doubt in part, though only very partially, account for the increase of crime in the land.

A remarkable change has taken place, during these years, in the proportions of the population of the cities as compared with that of the smaller towns and the open country. In 1850 just one eighth of the population of the entire country was classed as "urban;" in 1880 that proportion had very nearly doubled, having advanced from 12.5 to 22.5 per cent. These changes of habitations were both the effects and the causes of great and far-reaching social and moral disturbances, tending to both the worse and the better; and besides these changes of residences, the rural population has come to feel the influence of the cities, and has been removed by it from the simplicity of other times. As a general rule, it is found that in proportion as population becomes dense crime increases in even a much larger ratio.

The District of Columbia, with nearly three thousand to the square mile, has one prisoner to each four hundred and sixty-six inhabitants; while Kansas, with twelve to the mile, has one to a thousand and twenty-nine; and Iowa, with twenty-nine to the square mile, has only one to two thousand. Massachusetts, the home of American "culture," has at the rate of more than two of every thousand of her population in prison, though even in that State a large share of its people reside in the open country or in small hamlets. It has, however, a larger proportion of "factory operatives" in its population than any other State, many of whom are Irish Roman Catholics and French Canadians. But, irrespective of race or religion, manufacturing communities seem to be productive of criminals. Possibly the favorable showings for Kansas, and the still better for Iowa, are somehow connected, either as cause or effect, with the attitude of these States toward the liquor traffic. There can be no doubt, however, that city life affords both incentives and opportunities for criminal conduct beyond those of the country; nor that a country population brought into the conditions of city life would show a much worse criminal record than they would have done in their rural homes. The indus-

trial changes that are bringing together vast populations in cities and factory towns, are necessarily producing wide social and moral transformations, which assuredly are not all for the better.

With this relative increase of city populations has also appeared a quickened and intensified struggle for money-making—so much so as to give its own character to the popular life and thought. To make money and spend it is beyond all else the governing thought of the dictators of public opinions and pursuits. Every body would be rich, and very naturally every-where, "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare." In a few cases the crimes which grow directly out of this inordinate pursuit of gain figure in the courts, and a very small proportion of these add to the census of the prison population; but the slain of this destroyer in its concealed, or indirect and far-reaching, actions is a very great army. The increased cost of living, as very many people choose to live, and think they are compelled to, is greater than their legitimate incomes will warrant, and the results are seen in wild speculations and defalcations—in the peculations and stealings of trusted servants, public and private, and in the false show and the domestic misery of thousands of households. This, too, no doubt, is the cause of the multitudes of unmarried men and women, constituting altogether a most unwholesome element in society. Only a few of these, however, are in their earlier stages among the "prisoner" class, which is the basis of the preceding calculation; but they may be found in the insane asylums, the almshouses, and the homes for the unfortunate provided by public or private charity; or, most sorrowful of all, in the suicides' graves. This greed of gain is also the direct procuring cause of the whole race of professional criminals—numbered by tens of thousands—who divide their lives between terms of imprisonment and intervals spent in preying upon society.

It is also found that the forms of their industries are somehow closely related to the prevalence of crimes in our social communities. Agriculture has the largest following of all the business occupations of the country, and from that calling comes by far the smallest percentage of our criminals. We speak simply of the fact, which cannot be called in question, without discussing its philosophy—which is, however, sufficiently obvious—further than to remark that the absence of undue excitements, the possession of a moderate competence, and personal independence—all of which are among the conditions of a yeomanry—are eminently promotive of self-respect and a wholesome individuality. But this form of industry is not the most promising in respect to sudden wealth, and, therefore, it is discarded by very many who have been trained to it. It is also the least cared for by the government, which burdens it with heavy taxes in the form of imposts on its foreign supplies, and draws from it large amounts for the maintenance of the criminal and the pauper classes, to both of which it makes the least relative contributions. Class distinctions are less known in agricultural populations than in any others, and there is much less of the wide extremes of the rich and the poor. The permanence and immovableness of the chief forms of property

gives it security against spoliation or sudden and wide changes of values, which, among other social conditions, become the fruitful sources of both poverty and crime. It may avail but little practically to plead for the relative moral and social superiority of country life over that of cities; but in a problem of social science so large a factor may not be disregarded.

Among the most alarming of the social aspects of the times is the evident general loosening of the ties of domestic life, and the small value that is attached to the family relations. Marriages are shunned by the cautious, often at the cost of personal purity; or they are contracted thoughtlessly, to be followed by wretchedness, abandonment, and divorce. Children break away from the restraints of home at ages when these are most needed; or perhaps they are freely dismissed by their parents, that they may plunge into the whirlpool of "business," with the godless and maddening influences of the outside world substituted for the needed protection and discipline of home life. Under this influence comes also the demand for the enlargement of "the sphere of woman," which means, in fact, whatever any may intend, that instead of caring for and illuminating the sacred precincts of the household, and guiding their own families, women shall take the places that nature intended only for masculine force and toughness,—that little girls shall learn trades,—that misses in their teens shall be put on exhibition in salesrooms by day and lodged in vast dormitories by night—orphaned, in fact, at an age when orphanage is most to be deprecated—and that an abler and more educated few shall forego all the special advantages and responsibilities of their sex and social positions to struggle with men, gentle or coarse as may chance, in professional life. The blighting effects of all this on the morals of society are not merely matters of speculation; that crime should increase among such conditions is inevitable; and side by side with this mad crusade for "woman's rights"—often, but not always, manifested in the same person—is witnessed a departure from both the faith and the moralities of Christianity, by which the salutary restraints of religion are taken away and the public conscience vitiated. While it is not believed that there is any general falling away in either the belief or the practice of religion, it is painfully evident that in certain social classes there is such a defection, and that this is operating most disastrously among those so affected.

The influence of intemperance in stimulating every form of vice and in promoting criminal action must be accepted as a constant quantity in the social problem. Drunkenness is not only itself a form of criminality, in certain conditions legally recognized and punished as such, but it is also an ever-present force to quicken and augment every other species of criminality; and although there may be no relative increase of this vice in the country, yet among certain classes there is evidently an increase, and from these classes, which are steadily recruited from the unhoused and unprotected youth and young people of our cities, come a very large share of all our criminals; and as the only partially effective prohibition of the

liquor traffic in certain States or lesser localities have uniformly been followed by a large decrease of crime, we may reasonably infer that its total and universal prohibition would proportionally diminish the fearful aggregate.

The remedies for the evils we are considering must be as various as the causes out of which they spring. Generally we need a better state of public and private morality—better government, improved prison discipline, less squalid poverty, better homes for the poor, more adequate primary education, better adjustments of the industrial interests of the country, a higher standard of political ethics, less drunkenness, less Sabbath desecration, and, to comprehend the whole in one, more of the religion of Christ wisely exercised in unselfish goodness in behalf of all classes and conditions of men. After all, there is no new specific for these modern epidemics of crime; they can be checked and extirpated only by the power of religion.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

The International Position of the Pope.—A prominent publicist of Germany has just given to the world a treatise on the above subject, which is attracting considerable attention, both from its solid character and the timeliness of the theme. It is written with calmness and good judgment, and although, of course, from a Protestant stand-point, it seems very free from any endeavor to treat the matter with other than logical consistency.

The introduction opens with an historical development of the Romish Church, the papacy, and the temporal power of the pope; the latter assuming that this power descends to him from God. For centuries the popes assumed to be only the successors of St. Peter; but by Innocent III. they were declared to be the vicars of Christ and God on earth. But it was one thing to make this claim, and a very different one to enforce it; and the author gives us a long series of facts, proving that down to Pius IX. they never relaxed their claims, though they often could not maintain them. In the famous Syllabus of the latter pontiff it is expressly denied that the Romish popes had ever exceeded their powers in assuming rights over temporal princes.

According to the Curia, this omnipotence of the pope has always existed, but in the Middle Ages it could not always be exercised, because of the rebellious spirit of sovereigns. The well-known Bull of Boniface VIII.—the *Unam Sanctam*—was burned by an executioner in Paris, and its publication in Spain was prohibited under pain of high treason. Frederick II. of Prussia assumed to control the Catholic peasants of Silesia, and the Bourbon courts of Europe forced the dissolution of the Order of the Jesuits. In Austria Joseph II. assumed the place of the pope, and granted to the Roman pontiff no supreme authority.

Then came the era of the concordats or papal treaties, many of which the author declares were illegal because not ratified by the popular will in legislative bodies. But the more the power of the popes increased the greater became in certain quarters the opposition. The quarrels between popes and councils, and the apostasy of entire nations, closing with the French Revolution, left the papacy in the most abject weakness.

The restoration of the papacy after the fall of Napoleon I., with all the restoration policy of that period, is to be regarded as but little more than an episode; and it was reserved for the third Napoleon to assist the kingdom of Italy in displacing the pope from his temporal throne.

The difficulty now in treating with the papacy arises from the difference between its actual position and its claims, one of the latter being that it has the right of international protection in its struggle with Italy. Against this position the latter country protests with great vehemence; and no power just at present would dare to interfere in the matter. And the position of the author of the work in question is, that the papacy has politically no international rights. The rejection of the modern state on the part of the Curia is logically correct from its stand-point, and indeed necessary to the position that the pontiff has rights over sovereigns and nations. The claims of the two parties are diametrically opposite, and they must therefore collide. The question will consequently, for the time being, continue to be settled as it has been in the past—namely, by the right of might. In the meanwhile the pope will continue to affirm that the spirit of revolution, destruction, and anarchy now abroad among the nations arises from their neglect of his advice and appeals.

"France in Canada" is the title of an interesting article in the last number of the "Revue Chretienne" by the French author and lay worker among the Protestants of France, M. Réveillaud. He is well known among us from his recent visit to this country in the interest of the Reformed Church of France.

He narrates in a very clear and succinct way the result of his experience and thought in regard to the French of Canada, whom he finds to be several centuries behind the age. He is much surprised to see that the French of to-day are as subservient to their priests as were their forefathers at the time of their emigration—paying their tithes, accepting the clergy as their guides in all family matters, and the controllers in the elections. The journals of the country which have tried to break this intolerable yoke have lost most of their subscribers.

Réveillaud explains this remarkable and growing power of the Catholic clergy of Canada about as follows: When New France was ceded to the English, Canada was decapitated, in a social and intellectual point of view, by the departure of the principal families of the country, and the return of the most of the civil functionaries and commercial notabilities to France. But the priests, to whom the treaty of Paris guaranteed all their former privileges, as well as their former tithes, remained, and became the prominent men of the province. They had soon, therefore, the

sole direction of the French population that remained fixed to the soil. They then began to reign without protest over a people who saw in them the representatives of their nationality and institutions. In proportion as the English and Protestant element entered the colony the Canadians gathered more closely around their priests and their churches, and Catholicism soon came to be considered as the palladium of their national independence. Now this same phase of Catholicism soon developed a spirit of routine and reaction, under the influence of which the character of the people became weakened. This spirit has shackled not only all literary growth, but even the free development of trade and industry, and kept them far behind the age.

The Criminal Classes in France are a source of great trouble just now, which the deputies are trying to meet with a law for relapsed criminals or "old offenders." The sympathies of the turbulent classes are, of course, always in favor of the criminal; and no festivity of a national character occurs without an effort on the part of the Radicals to have a lot of hopeless fellows pardoned out of prison to return and annoy society and the government. This evil has grown to such an extent that there are said to be in Paris at present no less than thirty thousand of this class, whose occupation is to advance from crime to crime, and become a sort of prison tramps.

The evil has thus grown until it has become unbearable, nurtured to a great extent by the legislators themselves in the endeavor to gain popularity and votes. For instance, the wretches convicted of the most barbarous crimes of the days of the Commune in Paris were scarcely safely landed in the penal colony of New Caledonia, in the Southern Seas, before a political clamor was made for their release. The tocsin was sounded with such vigor that in a little while the authorities consented to liberate the least criminal, and then went a step and still another step further until at last the vilest of the leaders were again in Paris ready to wave the red flag and scatter the kerosene. Enormous sums had been expended in sending them away and then bringing them back again, only to form an audacious band of agitators ready to do and dare any thing in the line of social revolution and destruction.

But at last the crisis has come, and these relapsed criminals form so dangerous an element of the population of the French capital that something must be done to shield the community and the State from these vampires. Therefore for some time the Chamber has been busy in the discussion of a bill to become a "Law on the Recidivistes." In the outside discussion of these matters the French Protestants are taking a great deal of interest, and the well-known Pasteur of the Oratoire, M. Robin, treats the matter very thoroughly from a philanthropic stand-point in the columns of the "Revue Chretienne."

The trouble now seems to be the danger of making the law too sweeping and severe, as it would pronounce the punishment of perpetual banishment against several categories of individuals who hardly deserve such severe

treatment, namely, vagabonds and beggars. M. Robin appeals for a distinction between the villainously criminal and the lazy and helpless. The latter he would have sent to reformatory institutions, with a view of reclaiming them by enforced labor; and would reserve the fearful penalty of perpetual banishment for the incorrigibly criminal and dangerous classes. He argues with great eloquence that a properly managed prison may be made a shelter and school, and a blessing to many who should be retained where they may have the means to effect this good purpose, rather than to send them to distant colonies to die, and be lost to a country that really needs their presence and their power. The discussion unveils some peculiar points in French national and criminal life, and especially the fact that banishment from France is to a Frenchman the most cruel sentence that can be put upon him. Many of them would rather be executed in France than suffer deportation to distant and lonely islands.

"FREE MISSION PREACHING" is becoming quite popular in Saxony, where, until very recently, the Established Church looked with horror on any unauthorized Christian work among the masses. But the regular preachers found that while they were pouting and neglecting the great crowds that collect in the industrial centers of that country, other Christian workers went among the rough and uncouth, the poor and lowly, and obtained a hearing and attention. In the first place, as a certain report relates, the Methodists went among them several times, remained for a considerable time, and held meetings that were largely attended. This was especially the case in the town and district of Planitz. More recently the Baptists have gone in there and successfully engaged in forming congregations and crystallizing their work. These facts proved to the satisfaction of the liberal Lutheran preachers that the said district was very favorable soil for what they call "free mission preaching," and accordingly a popular pastor of Dresden was invited there to do mission work among the people, and endeavor to retain them in the Church.

Pastor Seidel had evidently learned a lesson from those who had spurred him to the work. He laid aside his dignity, hired a large dancing-hall, obtained some popular hymn-books, and was rewarded with a large audience whose coarseness or indifference was overcome by the novelty and the attractiveness of the scene. He chose popular themes, such as "Divine and Human Love," "Belief in the Child, the Youth, and the Man," and "A Look beyond the Grave." The discussion of such subjects in popular and homely style and language made him an acceptable visitor, and his hearers listened with respect to allusions to some of their vagaries, such as pasturing in the foreign fields of the sects and even of spiritism. The scene of these labors is the seat of a large contingent to the socialistic vote of the country, and which sends a good many members to the Saxon Chambers; and any influence that can be brought to bear on these men to make them more loyal to the country, to religion, and the family is well spent. It is very clear that the German State preachers throughout

the land are coming rapidly to the conviction that they must adopt popular methods if they would reach the people.

The Religious Status of Switzerland is presented in no roseate hue by Prof. Oettli, of Berne, in a pamphlet just issued, containing his report on this subject to the Evangelical Alliance in Copenhagen. He considers church matters generally in a state of decomposition throughout the land. The last defenses of the Christian dogmas have fallen, the position of the people toward the Bible teachings is of the loosest kind, and in Basle and Zurich even the sacrament of child baptism is no longer required by the authorities. There is no common confession of faith, no general belief, no church obligation, and no clearly defined barriers between the absolute rule of the pastor and the rights of the congregation; between the simple will of casual majorities and the authority of the invested officials of the church. Every individual pastor, every separate congregation, and each particular member seems to be sovereign in power.

But we are happy to say that this discouraged pastor does also find a light side to this dark picture. He acknowledges that where there is belief it is self-conscious, energetic, and active. Many a personal testimony for Christ is heard, and the power of Christ becomes so effective that it then cannot be despised. The parties in the Swiss churches are keenly dissected; and we are told how the so-called Reformers soon neglect the very pulpits that they have wrested from their rightful owners. True religion is forgotten in the conflicts about baptism, separation of Church and State, and other comparatively unimportant questions. In many of the Swiss cities these unrefreshing struggles are the order of the day, absorbing the attention of the State, the school, and social life. The extreme radical party in Switzerland, with all its professions of liberty, is thus threatening the freedom of faith and worship. It is by them that most of the unreasonably violent treatment against the Salvation Army has been committed. And whatever may be the opinion of Christians generally about its *modus operandi*, it is certainly quite inconsistent that the radical newspapers, whose columns are overflowing with the most liberal phrases, should be the chief supporters of those who attack all meetings of the "Army," even those in private houses, and fairly force the government to violate its guarantees for the liberty of worship. But, even with all these discouragements, Swiss Christians still hope that the Gospel hour will soon come.

Mission Work in Spain is still being pressed with vigor by Protestant workers, notwithstanding the most persistent opposition on the part of the Catholic Church, in collusion with the civil authorities. A new enterprise was begun last summer in Granada by the establishment of a school and chapel in the most neglected portion of that city, where men and women practice vice as a legitimate source of income. The inhabitants were totally destitute of all incentives to be either decent or honest, and the children were exposed to the most bestial lessons. In this hot-bed of

misery and vice the evangelist invited the people to come and hear him tell them the story of a true friend; and they came in large numbers. He read portions of the Psalms and the New Testament, and then told them the story of the cross and of justification by faith rather than by the intercession of the saints or the Virgin. A school was soon opened with forty pupils, where every evening and the afternoon of Sundays divine service was held, and attended by increasing numbers. The mission worker need scarcely have told us that his efforts soon attracted the attention of the priests, who hitherto had paid no regard to this neglected district. But suddenly they became aware of its needs and its dangers, and commenced a course of systematic opposition and interference against this new Gospel and philanthropic work. They succeeded in stirring up the population against the mission, and gathering crowds of roughs to stone the building and commit other outrages. This produced a riot, and attracted the attention of the police, who, to the surprise of the evangelist, offered him protection. Generally the government has found some excuse for interfering with the work so as to limit or stop it.

The Protestant Orphanage in Jerusalem under the patronage of German Christians seems to be doing an excellent work there, and makes a report and appeal for help that cannot be disregarded. There seems to be the most violent opposition in the Holy City and the Holy Land, indeed, to Protestant Christianity. This enterprise, under the protectorate of the King of Prussia, and largely supported by his private munificence and the protection of the German consulate, are doing excellent work of various kinds. Besides the school for orphan children there is a hospital served by German deaconesses, and schools for both girls and boys. There is indirectly connected with it a Jewish and an Arabic mission, with branches in Bethlehem and Hebron.

The missionaries engaged in this work declare that religious antagonism is more bitter here than in any other place on earth; and they therefore need help from without to sustain them. If it were not for the strong Turkish police force maintained there it would be impossible on festal days at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to maintain order among the different sects contending for the preference to admission to the holy places. For awhile these were assumed to be under the special protection of Napoleon III., but since his fall the French have lost their prestige in the Holy Land, and that of the Germans has greatly risen. These are now ready to inaugurate many good works if sufficiently supported by their Christian countrymen, and to this end the appeal is made from which we quote.

The Hungarian magnates are passing through a period of strife and anxiety regarding the matter of reform in the Upper House. The religious conflicts have reached the people, and the feeling among the masses against the Jews is very strong. The question in dispute is that of Jewish representation in the Upper House. The Premier Tisza is decidedly in favor of the Jews, and was bold enough to say that the Hungarian nation

should not allow itself to be frightened by an outcry worthy of the Middle Ages. But the discussion brings up other troublesome questions, such as a Protestant representation also, because of the large Protestant community in Transylvania. The liberal minister at last succeeded in his endeavor to favor the Jews, by a large majority, which was gotten, however, by the absence of some two hundred members at the time of voting. This of course makes the final result more doubtful in the Lower House, which is still discussing the question with much bitterness, and great danger of a riot among the people.

The pontiff has never before come out quite so squarely against the Italian government as in his late allocution to the cardinals on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his elevation to the papal throne. He complains that the position of the vicar of Christ in the Eternal City becomes more burdensome the longer it lasts. He looks forward to a time when the government, which has now approached the doors of the apostolic palace, will not hesitate to enter even its holy precincts. But he casts his heaviest bomb at the heresy that is allowed to run riot in Rome, and complains that he cannot shut the gates of the city against it. He says: "We can neither prevent the scattering of false and godless doctrines, nor annihilate the laws that violate the truths of the faith and the teaching of the churches." This passage indicates very clearly, if, indeed, any proof were needed, what would be the fate of Protestantism in Rome if the pope were returned to the possession of his so-devoutly-desired liberty and independence. Every Protestant enterprise in the city would be outside the walls without even decent delay.

The grandest missionary workers in Germany are battling on the outer walls in favor of having their missions go hand in hand with all efforts at foreign colonization; and large bodies of the people are listening to eloquent appeals to this end. The Christian missions and Christian colonization are not to be hostile to one another, but are to work together for the attainment of the same purpose. Indeed, Christian colonization is not conceivable without the Christian mission; for the question as to what will be done with the natives of these colonies cannot be solved without the mission work. Therefore the mission workers declare it to be the duty of the German government and people to favor the introduction and spread of Christianity in the new colonies. These colonies, as such, should assist the missions by aiding in the passage of wise laws that will keep heathendom within bounds, and in its place give the people schools and churches, and protect them as far as possible from the vices of civilization, especially that of the too free use of spirituous liquors. In truth, the opposition of the mission workers to ardent spirits is, for Germans, almost phenomenal.

The German people have a pleasant way of rewarding faithful scholars as public benefactors. That well-known Christian teacher and author,

Dr. Franz Delitzsch, of Leipsic, has just finished the fiftieth year of his professional labors, and his friends and admirers felt like celebrating this golden jubilee in grand style. Numerous gifts from high and low greeted the venerable man, and were an eloquent testimony to the breadth as well as the depth of his labors. The philosophical faculty of the University renewed his diploma, and the city council came in with thanks for his rare labors in cataloguing the manuscripts of the City Library. A messenger from the king brought to him the Cross of the Order of Merit, while all his colleagues of the theological faculty handed him a document saying: "Your name is an ornament of our faculty, and its attraction, which reaches far beyond the seas, is still unweakened in its influence. All your work has been constantly done in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Church on earth." In short, the learned servant of God was fairly overwhelmed with tokens of love.

It may indeed be said of the Germans, that of making cyclopedias there is verily no end; this is especially the case in the realm of theology. Among the newly finished ones are those of Herzog and Plitt, in seventeen volumes, and Wetzer and Welte, of ten volumes; then there is the "Universal Theological Lexicon" of Schenkel, the "Lexicon of Theology and Ecclesiatics for the Evangelical Church," by Holtzmann and Zöpffel, and the "Handlexicon for Catholic Theology," by Schäfler. But not any one of these seems to satisfy the demand among the Lutherans; they have long desired one that will treat of theological questions more especially from their stand-point, and this wish is at last to be gratified, and the empty chasm is to be filled by the "Church Handlexicon" of Dr. Carl Mensel, in collaboration with a number of *Evangelical Lutheran* pastors. This work is to be a guide in the investigation of the entire field of theology and the Church. It is primarily intended for a reference-book for the clergy, old and young; yet also for intelligent lay workers in Christian circles, such as the official members of the church bodies of various names. The breadth of the work will make it quite a library in contents, and it will be finished in four stout volumes.

The quaint old town of Nuremberg, in Germany, is more worthy of a visit for matters of antiquity in art, industry, and architecture than any other, but we had not thought of according to it special interest in the history of the Reformation until we noticed a recent publication, entitled "History of the Reformation in the Imperial City of Nuremberg." This proves to be a rich fund of literary and religious archives concerning the great movement as it affected that ancient city. Its narrative gives us a deeper insight into the influence of Nuremberg at the close of the Middle Ages, and throws a bright light on the peculiarity of the German religious life of the period.

About a year ago a society was formed in France for the evangelization of Algeria and Tunis, and since that period some money has been col-

lected and the work has been commenced. One evangelist has been sent to Tunis and one to Oran, in Algeria, who is working among the Spaniards, who collect there from the not-far-distant opposite shore. A preparatory school for Christian workers in Constantine has also been assisted. A Protestant chaplain in Tunis has just received, as a present from the governor-general, land for the erection of a Protestant church. At a recent meeting of the society the secretary gave a very sad picture of the miserable condition of the Protestants in those regions. The workers already there are few in number, and are very poorly supported. In Algeria alone there should be at least a half-dozen more assistants, and the call for these is made in France. But the reply is, that there are already so many parishes at home without pastors that they have none to spare. One of the speakers seemed to think that Protestantism is losing among the Latin nations more than it is gaining.

The Prussian Universities had a very successful winter *semester*, numbering in attendance 12,937 students against 12,465 of the winter of 1883-84. Berlin led off with over 5,000, Halle had 1,631, Göttingen 993, etc. Within four years there has been a total increase of over eleven per cent. But in regard to this increase the numbers have been quite variable in the different schools. Indeed, the vacillation in this respect in German universities is quite peculiar. Sometimes this would seem almost a whim, or perchance a fashion; but it generally proceeds from the popularity of special teachers. One famous man will often draw a crowd at a certain period when he is specially active. In Protestant theology there were 1,926, a large increase. For a few years the decrease in this line was very marked; the increase again is now quite encouraging. In the Catholic faculties there were 236; in law, 2,338; in medicine, 3,256; and in philosophy, 4,879. On the whole, therefore, matters are looking well for the Prussian schools.

The Protestant Press in Italy makes a fair showing; there are at present not less than fifteen periodicals, whose titles are as follows: *L'Italia Evangelica*, *Il Piccolo Messaggiere*, *Le Témoin*, *Il Dispensatore*, *L'Ape Biblica*, *L'Amico de'Fanciulli*, *Il Giovine Cristiano*, *La Riforma Religiosa*, *Il Testimonio*, *Luce e Tenebre*, *La Fiaccola*, *Il Bollettino*, and *L'Avvisatore Alpino*. One of these is for the Waldenses in the valleys, and another is the organ for the young men's associations. Two others have had a hard struggle for life, but still appear; these are *Il Fra Paolo Sarpi*, a sheet issued especially for the dissatisfied Catholics of Venice, and the most important of all the Protestant publications in Italy, namely, *La Rivista Cristiana*, edited by Professor Comba in Florence. The *Rivista* begins the new year with a new cover and more lively and spirited contents, and leaves the Waldenses for the new alliance of all the denominations as far as effected, which seems to be the absorption of the Free Church by the Waldensian Church under the general, though it seems to us misleading, title of Evangelical Church of Italy. *La Nuova Scienza* closes the list.

The Evangelical Alliance is receiving a fixed habitation and a name throughout Italy. The Roman branch, at its last session in December, resolved to enter into correspondence with the branches, as far as they exist, in other Italian cities, and to request their co-operation in promoting the formation of associations where they do not as yet exist. It is proposed, also, that these, when allied, shall form the Italian branch of the International Evangelical Alliance, with rules and regulations in accord with those of the parent society. The seat of the Roman branch has already commenced the work, and has sent circulars to Milan, Florence, and Naples, as well as to the divers cities where it is thought possible that such invitations would be welcomed, and would induce favorable action. Local committees will probably be formed in many centers, who will correspond with the main Italian branch at its next session.

The Free Church of Tonga.—The establishment of this new Church is a grave event, which has come about very unexpectedly, and it is impossible as yet to foresee all the consequences, though we by no means sympathize with the fears that seem to alarm those who speak for the parent Church. How serious a blow they feel it to be is evidenced by the utterances of the English Wesleyan press. "The Methodist Times" begins its announcement with these words: "A terrible calamity has befallen Methodism in the scene of our most glorious missionary triumphs. King George of Tonga, whose name has been uttered so often on missionary platforms, with the great majority of his people, has withdrawn from our communion, and established a new Church, entitled 'The Free Church of Tonga.'" So far as published, the facts are as follows:

The group known as the Friendly Islands, comprising Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, with some smaller islands, was for many years a missionary station. When the churches on these islands became self-supporting they requested to be formed into a separate district connected with one of the Australasian Conferences. This request was granted, and three years ago Tonga was connected with the Sydney Conference. Since then the native brethren of that district have not only supported their own ministers, but have largely and nobly assisted in carrying on Wesleyan missions elsewhere. For a long time, however, there has been much dissatisfaction, the real cause of which does not seem to have been as yet made plain. At the New South Wales Conference of 1883, charges were preferred against the chairman of the Tonga district, a distinguished minister, whom King George wished to be removed, and a further request was made that the Friendly Islands should be transferred to the New Zealand Conference. The New South Wales Conference decided that the chairman should not be removed, and that the Friendly Islands should not be transferred to the New Zealand Conference. King George appealed to the Australasian General Conference which met last November in New Zealand. The letters of the king were read, and engaged the attention of the Conference for some time. It was finally resolved that a deputation should visit the

Friendly Islands and confer with the king and the European and native missionaries. Power was given to the New South Wales and New Zealand Conferences to effect the transfer of the Tonga district to the New Zealand Conference, if the deputation should recommend that course.

But this policy was too tardy to suit the king, whose venerable age has not diminished the force of his will. With his people, he evidently regards himself as at the first wronged and then ignored by the Australasian authorities. Still, it would seem to be doubtful whether the secession would have taken place but for the prompting of certain English Wesleyans. The prime mover in the secession appears to be the king's prime minister, who was, until recently, a Wesleyan minister. He has been succeeded by another Wesleyan minister, Rev. J. B. Watkin, who has consented to become the first minister of The Free Church of Tonga. The king hesitated long, but when his adhesion was secured the people deserted in a body. In three short weeks 11,000 adherents of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, including one European minister, 12 ordained native ministers, 800 local preachers, 600 school-teachers, 700 class-leaders, and upward of 5,000 members formally joined the Free Church. The whole of Vavau, the greater part of Haabai, and a part of Tonga have gone with the king. The deputation from the Australasian Conference has just set out, and perhaps it is not yet too late to heal the breach. Happily there is no doctrinal or even ecclesiastical difficulty. The Free Church of Tonga is to teach Wesleyan doctrine, and to enforce Wesleyan discipline. The founders of this new Church have a great task in hand. They seem to be, as "The Methodist Times" says, "quite unnecessarily depriving themselves of the substantial and ever-increasing benefit of close connection with the powerful and growing Australasian Churches." And we join in the exclamation of the same paper, "Surely exasperated feelings will not be allowed to prevail on either side." The history of Christianity affords not a few cases in which ecclesiastical separations have been the evidently divine method for the furtherance of the Gospel.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Our Missions in India.—Those who will take the trouble to read carefully the pages of the Report of our Missionary Society allotted to the missions in India will be amply repaid. They are very interesting, showing not only the results accomplished, but indicating greater triumphs to come. The space occupied this year is fifty-four pages, of which all but three are devoted to the North India Conference, which includes the Province of Oudh, and the Rohilkund, Cawnpore, Kumaon, and Guhrwal Districts in the north-west, while the South India Conference, we are told in the "Discipline," embraces the rest of India. This, of course, does not mean that the two Conferences cover all India with their missions and stations. Immense districts are still untouched, and must remain so while

the occupied districts offer thousands of opportunities for the establishment of stations which cannot be accepted for want of means and missionaries. The South India Conference, which embraces the territory included in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and in Bengal and the Central Provinces, as well as the Nizam's dominions, taking in the peninsula, has six Conference districts, with thirty-four appointments, which report 1,912 communicants. There are 29 churches, which are valued at 302,426 rupees, of which only 29,025 rupees represent debt. Concerning self-support, which is a strong point in this Conference, the statistics show that the pastors' claims, estimated at 44,120 rupees, were paid in full last year, and an excess of more than 4,500 rupees raised. The collections for the presiding elders fell short by about 250 rupees. The schools number 32, with 2,048 boys and girls, of whom 1,269 are Christians and 769 non-Christians. Upward of 32,000 rupees were paid for improving church property and for indebtedness, and 5,632 rupees were raised for missions. The baptisms of the year numbered 199, of which 170 were of infants. Turning to the statistics of the older Conference, the North India, whose work is almost wholly among the native population, we find a total of 4,450 communicants reported, indicating a net increase of 388, with 7,921 adherents, a gain of 1,242. There were 491 conversions, and 434 adults and 292 children were baptized. There are 33 churches and chapels, against 30 in the previous year, and these are valued at $97,639, a gain of over $25,000 during the year. The parsonages are reported to be worth nearly as much as the churches—$83,037. The contributions for various purposes show a falling off in nearly every instance. The Rohilkund District seems to be the most prosperous. Of the 434 conversions, 334 are reported from that district. The presiding elder says the spiritual condition of the native churches "is decidedly improving." He found it necessary to rebuke a community of native Christians for indulging in forbidden heathen practices in connection with marriage, and they promised to forsake them. In some of the villages nearly all the people are inquirers. On the Chandausi Circuit Sunday-school work is a prominent feature. Men, women, and children to the number of 500 or 600 attend these schools, and the children of all castes take great pleasure in singing the hymns. Mr. Bailey visited during the year a large town distant nine miles from Chandausi, and preached the Gospel daily to an audience of 2,000 or 3,000 men. On the Moradabad Circuit a native preacher, relinquishing his salary, against the advice and desire of his brethren, traveled in the garb of a religious devotee, depending on the people for his support. In one of his tours he spent five weeks in a group of Chumar (low caste) villages, and often sat up till midnight telling to interested audiences the story of the cross. The listeners would not leave him as long as he would continue to preach and sing. He often had to stop from sheer exhaustion. He induced the people in one place to throw down a heathen altar. The Chumars, who form a large portion of the population of the district, are being reached in Budaon and Kakrala Circuit. In a score or more of villages there are inquirers of this class, and

in the district there are eight Chumar workers. In Bilsi Circuit, also, the Chumar work is increasing, and similar reports come from other circuits. In one village of the latter circuit there is a band of 200 Mohammedans, all of whom are inquirers. The reports from the several districts indicate that the work of native preachers is becoming more and more a feature of the missionary scheme. They are generally very successful. Here is an incident of a native teacher laboring in the Oudh District, translated from his own account:

On the 1st of August I went to a village called Kanjarpurmá, and said to the inhabitants, "If you will let me teach your children the word of God it will be very beneficial to them and you." Hearing this, the people said, "If you were to give us ten rupees a day we would not send our children to your school, for we have never heard of such a thing as a Kanjar (a string-seller and snake-eater) being able to read." After telling them I simply wanted to teach them about God and his love toward man, they still refusing to send their children, with a heavy heart I turned away, yet with faith in God that he would make known his word in this village. The next day I went again to the village, on the way praying God to help me. As I neared it I met a leper, who asked me why I was coming there. I answered, "Friend, I have brethren living in this place, and I rejoice that I may be able to impart to them some instruction." The leper said, "What are the names of your brethren?" to which I replied that I did not know their names. He said, "You must have queer brethren that you do not know their names!" to which I again replied, "Nevertheless, you and all the people in this village are my brethren." He still further said, "Only those people are brethren who are children of the same father and mother." But after I told him that God, through Christ, was the Father of us all, he seemed greatly pleased, and said, "I like this new word; I have never before heard about it." "Very well," said I, "if you will call the children of this village together, I will instruct them." He agreed to this, telling me to come in the evening. I then went to my home, where at midday I asked God's special blessing upon the people. At the time appointed I went to the village, praying all the way, "O Lord, go with me to this village; as thou wast with the children of Israel, so be thou with me." Arriving at the village, I found that the leper, according to promise, had gathered some children together. These I told about Jesus and his love, and so greatly pleased were all that the men told me to come again, and many boys and young men enrolled themselves as members of my Sunday-school. Through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ this work was accomplished, not through my strength. Praise the Lord, who does hear and answer prayer!

Wesleyan Missions in West Africa.—The missions of the Wesleyan Missionary Society on the West Coast of Africa are reported to be in a very flourishing condition. From the Gambia to the Niger there is a general desire to extend the work into the interior, which, in most cases, presents few obstacles. The Gambia mission has long had stations as far up the Gambia River as M'Carthy's Island, 250 miles, but the lack of native preachers has been a hinderance to further advance. At Sierre Leone there is the same difficulty; but on the Gold Coast and at Lagos "we have taken hold of heathenism," writes the Rev. John Milum, "with a mighty grip." "Here," he continues, "we have a native ministry that any Church might well be proud of; earnest, pious, patriotic, loyal Methodist preachers, willing to go where they are sent by the Church, and to make a sacrifice if need be. They know how to pray and preach with soul-converting power." Mr. Milum, who was on a tour of inspection, attended the

district meeting on the Gold Coast, and writes of it very enthusiastically. It was, he says, a remarkable meeting:

To reach that district meeting some of the brethren had been two or three days in an open boat; old Father Freeman, now in his seventy-sixth year, had been three days and a half in a hammock, traveling one of the days for fifteen consecutive hours; and another brother had taken a week, walking hard every day, to come from the northern part of Ashanti. The contrast between that meeting and the first one I sat at, fourteen years before, was very marked, and showed what wonderful advances have been made without much noise within that period. The circuits are becoming more numerous. Some have attained self-support; all are honestly aiming at it. Some of the reports presented expressed the gratitude of the pastor for ingatherings, whilst others spoke of pruning "dead branches;" but that which called forth the doxologies of the brethren was the statement in reference to Ashanti. Our rejoicing was not that this blood-stained kingdom had so utterly fallen that it will never rise again, nor that the last of the royal dynasty had passed away, and that Kumasi, now in ruins, is reduced to the insignificance of an almost deserted village, and the golden stool of Ashanti, upon which the royal despots have sat, is now guarded by a small body of strangers. This may be God's way—degrading her to make her truly great. But our rejoicing was that the Gospel had entered Ashanti; that chiefs and kings were bidding it welcome; that they were building houses in which the Christian teacher might dwell, and school-houses in which their children might be taught, and the people hear the word of life in their own language, all at their own expense; and besides this, the chiefs and people were paying the agents' stipend. We have already gone far into the interior, but the path is now clear for the onward march of the Christian soldier, and he may soon take up his quarters some 500 miles inland from the coast. We have not forced ourselves upon the people of the interior; the only explanation is that of the leaven. They set a high value upon the Christian teacher. This was illustrated by the statement made in reference to the brother who had taken a week in walking to the district meeting. The King of Bekwa, fearing that he would not return, was wishful to keep the agent's clothes in pledge; but he not agreeing to this the king sent a servant with him to Cape Coast, thinking he would thereby insure the teacher's return. This man is one of a new class of native ministers who are remarkable for their zeal for Christ, and with these modern Lollards we intend to carry the Gospel to the regions beyond the present bounds of our operations. The climax was reached when two native princes from Juabin were introduced to the meeting. These men had come from a long distance behind the Akwapim hills, at the back of Accra, sent by their people to entreat the district committee for a missionary. During the late political disturbances with Ashanti a large colony of Juabins had fled from their own country adjoining Ashanti to the Protectorate. The English government has allotted them a fertile tract of country in the plains, where they have settled down to peaceful labor. From ten to fifteen thousand of these now form a colony which is daily increasing. These are the people who sent the deputation to ask for a native teacher. As these two men, who are themselves Christians, stood and delivered their message, arrayed in their fine native cloths, and pleaded for the appointment, one could fancy himself back in those early days of Christian missions, with the man in the dream saying, "Come over and help us!" only this was no dream. What could be done? There was no money to spare for engaging in this new enterprise. These native ministers did what I am sure friends in England will commend them for doing: they appointed a sterling man forthwith, and are taking up the work in faith and hope. At the public missionary meeting which was held that evening the two Juabin princes were invited to the platform, and delivered their message amidst wondrous enthusiasm. That missionary meeting I am not likely to forget. The fine Wesley Church was filled, quite a thousand people being inside the building; all the approaches, I am told, were crowded, and all the window spaces were full of earnest-looking people, pressing upon each other that they might hear the various speakers. The enthusiasm throughout was immense, and if by it we may gauge the missionary spirit of the Fantis there need be no fear for the future of the Church.

Southern Baptist Missions.—The Southern Baptists withdrew from union with the Northern Baptists in the support of missions as long ago as 1845. The Regular Baptists then had what was known as the Triennial Convention, which controlled the foreign missions of the Baptists of the United States, North and South, from 1817 to 1844, and for a brief period also administered the domestic missions. The separation of the Southern Baptists was due to questions growing out of slavery. The Board, which had its head-quarters in Boston, stated candidly, in reply to a series of resolutions adopted by the Alabama State Convention of Baptists, that, "If any one should offer himself as a missionary, having slaves, and insist on retaining them as property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain, we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery." The Southern contributors immediately took steps to obtain a separate Board, which was organized in 1845, in Augusta, Ga. The foreign and domestic missions and other benevolences of the Southern Baptists are under the control of the Southern Baptist Convention, which meets annually. In former years anti-mission Baptists were numerous in the South and South-west, but they have been gradually decreasing in number, and the contributions for missions have been slowly increasing. For the year ending April 30 the receipts for foreign missions were $65,481. This, added to the balance from last year and from collections in mission fields, made an available fund of $81,289. Of this sum the Board expended $80,135. The Board supports missions in Mexico, Brazil, Africa, China, and Italy. The past year has been one of great activity. No fewer than fifteen new missionaries were sent out. In Mexico the accessions for the year were 90; total membership, 190. In Brazil, accessions, 37; membership, 113. Africa, West Coast, accessions, 7; membership, 125. China, membership, upward of 500. The mission in Italy includes stations in nine of the chief cities and towns. All the missions are prospering, even those in China, which have been more or less interrupted by war.

The Union Church in Japan.—Most of our readers know that some years ago the missions of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the American Presbyterian and Reformed (Dutch) Churches formed a "Union Church of Christ in Japan," on the Presbyterian system. The union has proved to be a source of strength, and a bond of mutual advantage and satisfaction. The eighth annual council was recently held, and a well-prepared report of the year's work was adopted. The report begins by stating that there has been an increase of churches and an increase in membership during the year; "a growing appreciation of the true character of the Christian life, which is manifest in a more intelligent sense of personal responsibility and in increased contributions; a larger degree of devotion among our helpers and students, and a healthful spirit of independence which leads many of the churches to strive after the maintenance of their work without foreign aid."

The whole number of churches is now 35. Five new ones were organ-

ized, and two were consolidated. The net increase of members for the year is 554, which is an increase of 22 per cent., the total membership being 3,003. Of these 464 are children and 2,539 adults. These are very encouraging figures; but the improvement in the benevolent contributions is still more encouraging. For self-support and for benevolent schemes there was contributed about $5,500, an increase of 62 per cent. Besides these contributions there were liberal gifts from believers not enrolled in the churches, who in some cases defrayed the entire cost of maintaining regular services in their own places of meeting; and in several cases also there were large gifts for special purposes not within the range of church collections, as when one member of the Dai Machi Church in Tokio gave a thousand yen for the establishment of a Christian primary school. Of foreign laborers there are 46, and the force of native laborers has been greatly increased. Under the head of the state of the Church the following interesting paragraph appears:

> As appears from the reports of the churches, the state of the Church is such as to call forth our renewed thanksgivings. In some congregations the deep spiritual interest has been continuous. Twelve of the churches report the baptism of twenty or more adults, and one reports fifty-nine. A most remarkable change has passed upon the church at Yanagawa, which has grown from a state of great weakness to be a strong church, reporting fifty-nine members, among whom are some of the principal men of the town. The interest among the churches in the matter of self-support is steadily increasing, and together with this is found the desire to do more for the extension of the blessings of the Gospel to others. Although information is not at hand from which we can set forth the number of churches now independent of foreign aid, and the number engaged in missionary work, either individually or in connection with other churches, it is gratifying to mark a growing interest and progress in these matters. In the city of Yokohama two pastors are supported entirely by their congregations; and in the city of Tokio seven churches are entirely independent of outside aid for any ordinary expenses. There are others in other places. Among the churches in Tokio a missionary society has been formed which is doing good work. If the aims of its founders are realized, this society will eventually be brought under the care of one of the Classis or Presbyteries, or of the Synod. It would have been more in accordance with our desires if this society had had its beginning formally in one of these bodies, according to some plan similar to that mentioned in our last report; but as the Japanese Christians have chosen this method of beginning the work, we will pray for and rejoice in their successes, and aid them as we have the opportunity.

The report says that hinderances are disappearing. Access to the people in all parts of the empire is now practically without hinderance. The government seems quite favorable to Christianity, the general sentiment of the people is becoming more friendly, and prominent men who formerly opposed the Christian religion have ceased their opposition and become helpers in its propagation. Some of the Buddhist lecturers and societies have shown a spirit of antagonism, but the result in almost every instance was the increase of the Church.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

In the "Presbyterian Review" for April there is a very valuable article on "Conversions to Romanism," by Thomas Croskery, of Londonderry, Ireland. It gives an intelligent account of those religious and social influences which, since the Tractarian movement, have borne so many English Churchmen to Rome. The article is based, in part, upon the volume compiled by W. Gordon Gorman, and published in London by Swan, Sonnenschein, & Co., entitled "Converts to Rome." This contains a list of over three thousand Protestants who have become Roman Catholics since the commencement of the nineteenth century. The writer of this article is not absolutely convinced of the accuracy of these figures, but they are probably correct. It contains the names of 36 lords, 25 baronets, 15 sons or relatives of lords, 77 clergymen (marked separately), 302 clergymen and laymen of Oxford University, 149 of Cambridge University, 13 of Dublin University, 4 of London University, and many other people of all social stations and professions. With regard to these converts, Mr. Croskery discerns their chief cause in the great Oxford movement fifty years ago. But, he asks, what caused the Oxford movement? It was not the ambiguous language of the English Prayer-Book, but it was the reaction against the rising political liberalism of Oxford, when revolutionary principles were in the ascendant in Europe as well as in England, threatening the Church with disestablishment and the aristocracy with the loss of their privileges, and driving these two great interests back upon the principles of divine right as propounded in the High-Church maxims of 1837. Again, the peculiar scholastic training of Oxford University had no tendency to foster independence of thought. She has never been wholly and loyally identified with the Protestant cause. Macaulay reminds us how Oxford had the honor of burning those celebrated Protestant bishops whom Cambridge had the honor of educating. But we must look beyond the present century for the more remote or permanent causes of the movement. The influence of Alexander Knox and of the non-jurors is not to be forgotten. Account must be taken of two tendencies which have always been manifest in English society, even before the Reformation. One is the ecclesiastical, the other is the biblical tendency, or, in other words, High-Churchism and Puritanism. The whole article is exceedingly able and intelligent, and is the most philosophical discussion of the causes of the conversions to Romanism which we have seen.

Dr. E. F. Burr, in the same number, returns to the discussion of the question whether the heavens are inhabited. It is a singularly rhetorical and inconclusive article.

Dr. Henry J. Van Dyke, Jr., has a most stirring paper on "Vows in Protestant Churches," concerning which he is not severely critical, except with regard to the vow of celibacy. Against this he strongly protests as contrary to nature, and as historically disastrous. This young doctor of divinity is rapidly gaining reputation and influence.

The March number of "The Andover Review" has a striking paper by Mark Hopkins, on "Optimism," the key-note of which is in the following words, "Knowing, then, that God could not be better than he is—that the love revealed in Christ could not be greater than it is—that the heaven provided for those who love God could not be more blessed than it is—finding in the Scriptures as much of optimism as we had a right to expect—finding, also, in them the revelation of the future, which gives us a possible key to the fearful perplexities of the present state—we welcome each gleam of light, and wait with patience and hope the coming of that perfect day of the restitution of all things of which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." The other papers are of medium quality.

In the April number of the same review the leading place is given to the notice of Dr. Newman Smyth's "Sermons to Working-men," and to the publication of the first sermon on the "Claims of Labor." These sermons are exceedingly intelligent discussions of the labor problem, and worthy the consideration of our ministers.

Much valuable matter will be found in the article on "Co-operative Creation," by the Rev. F. H. Johnson. It very nearly, if not quite, accepts evolution as the best solution of the facts of human experience, the principle of spiritual development laid down by Christ and his apostles, and the facts of the external world. We refrain from further comment, as this is a first article.

"The Lutheran Church Review" is too denominational to be very interesting to the general public. The paper of principal interest in the April number is that by Rev. W. J. Mann, D.D., on "Unsound Devotional Literature." This is a review of the meditations of Zschokke on "Life, Death, and Eternity." These he declares to be rationalistic and singularly defective in their ominous silence as to the means of grace.

The April number of "The Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," reviews the "United States Coast Survey," "Mountain Observatories," the "Poetical Genius of Sidney Lanier," the "Demands and Needs of Methodism," and Richard Grant White's "Words, and Their Uses." Other papers of less popular interest make it a valuable number.

We have few magazines which are the vehicle of more important matter than the bimonthly entitled "Christian Thought," and edited by Dr. Charles F. Deems. The most important paper in the number for March–April is the sermon by (the Episcopalian) Bishop Samuel S. Harris, of Michigan, on "The Theistic Argument from Man."

"The United Service," a monthly devoted to the Military, Naval, and Civil Service, has recently become one of our exchanges, and, so far as secular information goes, it is one of our most valued. Gen. Charles P. Stone discusses the British military operations in the Soudan. Gen. Jordan, of the Confederate Army, gives a Confederate account of the campaign

and battle of Shiloh, which must be added to the materials of the history of that much-disputed field. We have found this magazine one of the most interesting to the general public of the many which reach us. While taking tone from its clients, it is not exclusively written for them, but in its stories and in its papers has much of interest for all classes.

The numbers of "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark; New York, Scribner & Welford), Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., Editor, justify their existence by their value. This work does not hesitate to discuss the most difficult questions in exegesis and hermeneutics. Thus, in the November number, "Christ's Exaltation in the Epistle to the Hebrews," and "The Omission from the Fourth Gospel of the Temptation of Christ," are with other subjects made the foundation of important papers. In the February number, the Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D., has a most encouraging article on "Some Recent Checks and Reverses sustained by Modern Unbelief." He shows first, that the highest scientific authority is against spontaneous generation, and that Tyndall himself, while speaking rhetorically of matter as containing the promise and potency of life, is obliged to admit that there is no evidence whatever for spontaneous generation. The same is true of Pasteur and Virchow. He also shows how the many millions of years demanded by Darwin for the work of natural evolution cannot be allowed, in view of well ascertained facts. Passing to the region of historical criticism, he shows how recent discoveries of the manuscript copies of the Epistle of Barnabas prove that the gospel of Matthew was already written and acknowledged as Scripture at the date of that epistle. It is also shown, by reference to the long-lost work of Hippolytus, that John's gospel was in existence before A. D. 125. It disposes of Baur's theory that it could not have been written until after A. D. 160. Its leading paper is very valuable in meeting the charges of the author on "Supernatural Religion."

"The African Methodist Episcopal Church Review," edited by Dr. Tanner, deserves the largest patronage and sympathy. The several numbers which we have seen are invaluable in affording a stand-point from which to judge the intellectual progress of the African race. We receive several reviews which do not exhibit as much editorial tact as this late venture in literature. While there is occasional evidence of an ambition which overleaps itself, the reader will be as much surprised as gratified in discerning the sound scholarship and real ability manifested by the swart contributors of this review. The paper in the April number, entitled "We Must Educate," is no more valuable as a mark of progress than it is as a contribution to the problem of African education.

The new and enlarged form of "The Homiletic Review" makes it the fullest magazine of its class. It is now more than a collection of sermons. It embodies discussions from the best hands of the timely religious topics, besides maintaining all its old features.

It is strange indeed to see a woman attempting to prove that Christianity has cursed her sex rather than benefited it; yet, in "The North American Review," Elizabeth Cady Stanton labors to show that woman is not indebted to any form of religion for one step of progress, or one new liberty; that, on the contrary, it has been from a perversion of her religious sentiment that she has been so long held in the condition of slavery. To do this, Mrs. Stanton perverts history, and, in short, goes contrary to the general testimony of even skeptical writers. Singularly enough, her interlocutor in this symposium is Bishop J. L. Spalding, of the Roman Catholic Church. Surely there could scarcely be a greater contrast than between a woman's-right wife and a celibate bishop. Bishop Spalding follows the ordinary course of Christian argument in showing how woman has been lifted and benefited by the direct influence of Christianity. He says no more than is just, in saying :

"To maintain that Christianity crushed the feminine element, and, more than all other influences combined, plunged the world into the Dark Ages, is to indulge in a kind of declamation that, for the past half-century at least, has become impossible to enlightened minds. To say that the doctrine of original sin throws the guilt chiefly or exclusively on woman is merely to affirm one's ignorance of Christian teaching. More than one great theologian can be found who declares that woman's fault in the original fall was less than that of man, and that her bearing was, beyond question, more generous." The following sentences are admirable: "To proclaim that the Christian religion teaches that woman is an afterthought in creation, sex a crime, and marriage a condition of slavery for woman and defilement for man, and maternity a curse, is to mistake rant for reason, declamation for argument. The advocates of woman's rights speak like people who have a grievance, and to have a grievance is to be a bore. They scold, and when women scold, whether in public or private, men may not be able to answer them, but they grow sullen and cease to be helpful. To be persuasive, woman must be amiable; and to be strong, she must speak from a loving heart, and not from a sour mind. Whoever is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity must sympathize with all movements having as their object the giving to woman the full possession of her rights. For wrong-doing of whatever kind she should not be made to suffer a severer punishment than is inflicted upon man. The world will continue to be unjust to her until public opinion makes the impure man as odious as it makes the impure woman."

The man who has led a laborious life in law and in literature, and is vigorous at eighty, deserves to have many sit at his feet. David Dudley Field has an able article on "Industrial Co-operation." It contains more sense than half the books on the subject.

The North American admits Robert Buchanan's poem on "The New Buddha." The new Buddha is Arthur Schopenhaur.

Much quaint information will be found in the article by the Rev. T. F. Thistleton Dyer, on "Superstition in English Life," as well as in the discussion on "The Increase of Crime," by President J. L. Pickard.

The editor of a sedate review is a little loath to confess that he turns with pleasure from the heavier matter of the reviews to the more sprightly and popular literature of the magazines; but years and much study are as much benefited and cheered by that which is adapted to the masses of the people as are those who have the most of their life before them. What can be pleasanter, for instance, for any body, than to study the noble portrait of Lincoln in the April "Harpers'," or the puzzling figure in Howard Pyle's "Spring Blossom," in the May number. We do not know why any young lady of a proper turn of mind should be dressed in such a vesture, even in May. We have seen a specimen of the apteryx, the famous bird without wings, but here is a woman without arms; and what holds out the shawl against the May breezes remains a puzzle to the critic, who is an excellent judge upon more important but not more difficult problems.

The April number gives proof that neither the charm of foreign travel nor the ceramic craze has passed away. The artist Millet draws for us the queer sights of Stralsund and Lubeck, and Roger Riordan writes up the *curios* in C. A. Dana's collection of Chinese porcelains.

It is also evident that we have not yet completed the exploration of our own continent, for Sylvester Baxter has much that is fresh in matter and beautiful in illustration in his paper on "The Rio Grande."

The mine of our colonial history is being well worked. Richmond, Virginia, furnishes a quaint series of portraits for the pen of Eugene L. Didier. These portraits illustrate the aristocratic element in the colonial history of Virginia, as well as in those years which follow the Declaration of Independence.

Those who would like an entrance into the homes and lives of English royalty will greatly enjoy the sketch of the life of the Prince of Wales at Sandringham, by that veteran correspondent, W. H. Russell. The graver can accomplish nothing on wood more satisfactory than the full-page portraits of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The work of exploring our frontier is continued by Burge Harrison in the May number. The illustrations show an architecture as foreign as any thing which can be found anywhere. In writing of Española and its environs, Mr. Harrison has really found the charm of novelty, and if one wishes to see what the Roman Church is in degenerate Latin populations far removed from the influence of Protestantism, let him consider the picture of Roman penitents kneeling and dancing on the thorny cactus.

James W. Gerard, a high authority on all colonial matters, gives an account of the famous farm of Anneke Jans on Manhattan Island, and of the law-suits that have vexed Trinity Corporation in New York, which came into possession of the property.

No city has been more minutely studied than London, and yet Benjamin Ellis Martin gives a picture of London life hitherto almost unknown; and that is, that of the canal which goes from Limehouse Dock to Paddington, and is carried under Maida Hill by a tunnel. The illustrations are exceedingly interesting.

Somebody else besides the farmers will be interested in the history of Jersey cattle in America, by Hart Comstock; with portraits of the most celebrated, living and dead.

Hamilton Gibson, who has been recently illustrating, in connection with Diehlman, E. P. Roe's popular book, "Nature's Serial Story," returns to his own field in describing and illustrating "A Witch-Hazel Copse." Many superstitions are connected with this shrub. Where it grows, why it is valued, and what the superstitions are, the reader will find fully set forth in this charming paper.

"A Wild-Goose Chase," which was begun in the April number, is continued in this. Mr. Millet wings his way to Copenhagen and other Danish towns, and the illustrations, while reminding one of Boughton, bear the distinct marks of Mr. Millet's own personality. Mr. Millet is the superior of Mr. Boughton in his management of atmospheric effect, and his equal in the drawing of figures. The article is enriched by the singularly beautiful drawing, by Swain Gifford, of the little town of Skagen.

As befits the May-day season, the weighty political and historical article, which has been such a feature in the winter numbers, is omitted.

Whoever deserves the credit of the suggestion, the public is certainly under great obligations to the "Century" for its wonderful series of papers on the chief events of the war. In the April number full account is given of one of the most dramatic, in its planning and attack, of the many great expeditions of the war of the rebellion. If there were nothing else in the number, the article on "New Orleans Before the Capture," by George W. Cable, and on "The Opening of the Lower Mississippi," by Admiral Porter, would be sufficient to put the "Century" far in advance in respect of popular interest. Not only is the matter of surprising interest, but the illustrations from photographs, and sketches only recently become accessible, give a pictorial interest of the highest class. These papers show that the history of the War of the Rebellion is yet to be written. Another striking feature of this great number, which reached an edition of 225,000, is the thoughtful and amusing presentation, by Theodore Roosevelt, of "Phases of New York State Legislation." Few men have at his age reached at once such political promise and political eminence.

While such scenes can be viewed as those depicted, both by pen and graver, in Eugene Smalley's journey "From Puget Sound to the Upper Columbia," our citizens need not go abroad to enjoy Alpine scenery, for here are mountains of great elevation and glaciers of sublime beauty.

It would appear that Mr. Howell must have a double, for, in addition to his striking story begun in November last, entitled "The Rise of Silas Lapham," he contributes to this number a delightful paper, entitled "A Florentine Mosaic." In illustrating it some of Pennell's most striking etchings are reproduced.

The frontispiece engraves Pennell's well-known etching of the Ponte

Vecchio. This illustrates the most picturesque bit of Florentine architecture.

Mr. Cable has certainly deeply stirred the Southern people, for in this number of the "Century," as well as in several Southern magazines, we find attempts, not wholly successful, to justify the Southern treatment of the Negro in respect to political equality and practical justice. Nearly all these papers substantially admit the truth of Mr. Cable's criticism, while justifying the South on the ground of necessity.

The April number of "The Pulpit Treasury" engraves the portrait of the Rev. F. D. Power, of the Christian Church in Washington. Mr. Power's face is singularly like that of Dr. Duryea as he was fifteen years ago. The number contains sermons by Dr. Power, Dr. Findley, the Rev. J. L. Harris, and Thain Davidson, D.D., and gives a synopsis of sermons by Drs. Hickok, Henson, Conrad, Parkhurst, Faber, and others. "The Pulpit Treasury" we place among our most valued exchanges.

"The American Journal of Philology," edited by Basil Gildersleeve, Professor of Greek in the Johns-Hopkins University, Baltimore, is among the most scholarly of our periodicals. It must necessarily appeal to a limited class, dealing as it does with the higher questions of linguistic criticism; but teachers of the classics cannot afford to dispense with the careful study of its learned pages.

That the rural scenery of England has a perennial charm is proved by the drafts made upon its objects for the delectation of magazine readers. We have seen nothing more beautiful in illustration, and attractive in text, than the series on English "Highways and Byways" now running in the "English Magazine." In the same number will be found one of the best of Archibald Forbes's military sketches, entitled "Interviewed by an Emperor." With regard to matters of art, one will find it hard to choose between "Cassell's Magazine of Art," with its many illustrations, its intelligent criticism, and its chronicle of current art, both English and American, and "The Art Journal," published by Virtue, of London, and by The International News Company, of New York. The brilliant feature in "The Art Journal" is its full-page engraving or etching in each number, while in wood-engraving and art criticism it is the equal of any. The May number has a first-class etching, after Saintine's charming picture of "The Apple Seller."

The successive numbers of "The Historical Magazine" are so rich in matter, so abundant in illustration, and so admirably printed, that one is compelled to ask where the public is which sustains so costly a periodical? Mrs. Martha J. Lamb certainly has a genius for historical writing, and, what is more, knows to whom to apply for her papers of critical accuracy and literary merit. Thus, in the April number, our readers will find several portraits of framers of the Constitution and signers of the Declaration of Independence which are wholly fresh and new.

The article in a previous number, by the Rev. Richard Wheatley, D.D., shows that the editor has learned that some Methodist clergymen are equal to the best magazine work.

The April number reveals, at the hands of Frederick W. Luther, the little known fact that Thomas Jefferson was a naturalist as well as a statesman. This was at least well enough known to inspire the following bitter yet vigorous doggerel:

> "Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
> Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair;
> Go, search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
> 'Mid the wild wastes of Louisiana's bogs;
> Or, where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
> Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

It is pleasant to see the development of an enterprise from an insignificant tract, with more than a squint at advertising the wares of a particular firm, to a magazine of the first order. Such a development have the readers of "The Wheelman" witnessed. At first devoted wholly to the bicycle, it is now grown to be an authority of the first class on all matters of out-door amusements, and has papers on travel, technical industries, modern architecture, and forestry, which are worthy of any magazine in the world. In the process of development, it has changed its name as well as its character, and is now known as "Outing." It is well worth reading, especially in the summer months.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah. The Warburton Lectures for 1880–84. With two Appendices on the Arrangement, Analysis, and Recent Criticism of the Pentateuch. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M. A. Oxon, D.D., Ph.D., Author of "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah." 8vo, pp. 391. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

Dr. Edersheim's great work on "Jesus the Messiah," has made his name familiar to students of the literature of the important subject to which that work is devoted; and although the subject seemed to be fully written up before that work was issued, and all that was needful appeared to have been said, it nevertheless has awakened a new interest in the theme, by treating it as viewed from a new and important stand-point—the Judaic-Christian. The favor with which that work was received seems to have induced its author and publishers to bring out yet another and somewhat kindred work, presenting the Old Testament side of the subject, the Christology of both its literature and its institutions, so making a kind of supplementary epistle to the Hebrews, in favor of Jesus as their expected Messiah.

The form in which the discussion of the work now in hand appears—that of lectures, each one somewhat complete in itself—allows very considerable freedom of method, and even discursiveness, in respect to the chosen lines of arguments and the specific subjects considered. Himself a thorough Old Testament student, the author's attention was necessarily drawn to the treatment to which the Pentateuch especially has recently been subjected, and he practically recognizes the obligation of those who believe in the Bible as it is as a divinely given record, to meet the assaults of the destructive criticism of the age with fair and open arguments, and confronting criticism with criticism. And as a careful strategist he begins by considering what points in the traditional faith may be neither defensible nor worth defending, in order that there may be no waste of power and prestige in futile efforts to sustain them. He even welcomes the attacks that have been made upon the factitious portions of the popular beliefs respecting the Hebrew Scriptures as likely to result in fuller considerations of what may be invalidated, and so to lead to a wider and more adequate understanding of the whole subject. And here he defines the true and only tenable position at once courageously and cautiously: "It may be," he remarks, "that much that has proved indefensible, and which all along had only been held because it was traditional, and had never before been properly considered, *may have to be given up*, and that the old truth may have to be presented in new forms, as the result of more accurate investigation and more scientific criticism." In this spirit all his discussions seem to be conducted; and although so ready to surrender all that a just and liberal criticism might condemn, he is in no haste to abandon any point till it has been shown to be indefensible; and accordingly very little that seems requisite to the integrity of revealed truth is given up. The great difficulty experienced by rationalistic critics respecting the teachings of the Old Testament is not the result of literary criticism, but of an illogical, rationalistic skepticism, the denial, in advance, of the possibility of its supernaturalness; for if that is granted the chief difficulties at once disappear. From this point of view the author prosecutes his discussions, and comes to conclusions that ought to satisfy every intelligent believer in the divinity of the Bible.

There is, all along in these lectures, an implied confession that the criticisms of the Old Testament by the school of Wellhausen and Kuenen, of which Robertson Smith became the interpreter for English-speaking readers, are not to be set aside as worthless, nor silenced as simply the utterances of profane unbelief. In the progress of affairs the time has come when the Old Testament must be subjected to a no less thorough examination than has been given to the New Testament during the past years of the century; and as this has passed the ordeal unscathed, but not without important modifications of its interpretation, so no doubt will that, but with probably still greater modifications, which will also greatly contribute to its practical utility, especially in respect to its relations to the New Testament and to its own Christological testimony. To prosecute these studies fearlessly but reverently is the high duty devolved by the

existing conditions on the Christian scholarship of the age, and to this discussion these lectures may be accepted as a tentative contribution, showing how the work must be done rather than actually and effectually doing it.

The publishers have given us the work in a superb and attractive form; the paper, typography, and the whole mechanical execution are of a high order, and the pages invite to the reading. In behalf of all who may read this volume, we render thanks for the style in which it is manufactured, with the hope that the pattern here set may be copied in very many other cases.

The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom Traced in its Historical Development. By C. VON ORELLI, Professor of Theology, Basel. Translated by Rev. J. S. Banks, Headingly College, Leeds (England). 8vo, pp. 472. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The reconstruction of Old Testament thought among evangelical Christians is a marked, and also a hopeful, fact of our times. With the enlarged and corrected views brought about by improved methods of biblical interpretation, a modification of the conceptions of the substance of the older revelation, and of the correlations of the old and the new, had at length become a necessity. It is not strange that at such a time of the transition of thought the audacity of unspiritual scholarship should seek to discredit the traditional estimate of the character and design of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to develop just what is seen in a well-known and very pretentious school of Old Testament interpretation. These things have also devolved on the Christian scholarship of the age the duty of readjusting the conceptions of the prophetic Scriptures to the more or less complete development of their contents in the Gospel. This great work is now proceeding, not only ably, but on the whole not unsatisfactorily. We have noticed within the past twelve months, in these pages, several highly valuable contributions to this design, some of them translations from the German, and some originally written in English—of the latter special mention may be made of Edersheim's great works—and we now with pleasure place among these the work above named.

The Christology of the Old Testament is an attractive and a practically valuable study: for there can be no question but that the older Scriptures testify of Christ, and that the two Testaments are parts of an indivisible unit. It is no doubt true, that the Old Testament can be best understood when contemplated in the clear light of its own fulfillment as seen in the gospels. But to study and interpret that collection of history and prophecy and poetry through the New Testament has its perils also, which the Protestant commentators of the last two centuries before our own did not wholly escape. The remark of the good Bishop Horne, respecting his Notes on the Psalms, that he would rather seem to find Christ in prophecy ten times where he is not than to miss him once where he really is, may have a pious tone about it, but there is also in it a most damaging element of untruthfulness—something of the nature of a pious fraud con-

sciously accepted for one's self and imposed upon others. To truly enter into the spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures one should seek to place himself, in mind and thought, among their conditions and environments; to ask himself how they were understood by those to whom they were originally given, and what the writers themselves meant by them; and while his better Christian knowledge will greatly help him to apprehend their deep spiritual import, which the people did not suspect and the prophets themselves only partially perceived, great care should be used not to read the New Testament *into* the Old. Especially is it needful to avoid that sort of microscopic literalism which seeks to make of prophecy a kind of anticipatory history of future details of facts. The design of the work we are noticing appears to agree with this notion. Its full "Introduction," of nearly eight pages, discusses the general character of biblical prophecy, distinguishing it from every thing, pretended or real, in heathenism, and showing that its perpetually recognized ideal was the "kingdom of God." In Part I. we have a discussion of the prophetic manifestation of God's purpose in respect to that kingdom among the patriarchs and to the Israelites; and in Part II. is given the testimony of the prophets of Israel to its future manifestation in Him "of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write." We can heartily commend this work as well calculated to prove helpful to all earnest students of the Bible who dare to be instructed in the truth. There are points at which we hesitate to accept the writer's views and to adopt his methods, and there are minor conclusions drawn from accepted methods that may appear doubtful; but as a whole the work is wholesome, evangelical, and conservative.

An Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Rev. SAMUEL LOWRIE, D.D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, New Jersey. 8vo, pp. 539. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This goodly volume appears to be the fruit of the private studies of a Christian pastor, who, instead of spreading his labors promiscuously over the whole Bible, has selected a single book for special and more thorough consideration, and also for his own profit, rather than for purposes of authorship. The plan is an excellent one, and the example so set is worthy of general imitation, both on account of the learning so to be gained, and for the habits of study to be acquired. The method of annotation is that of continuous discussions, rather than specific criticisms and exegeses, and of crisp and concise statements of results. This method has its advantages, and also its disadvantages, and the preponderance of each or either will depend largely on the mental habits of the reader. For desultory reading the plan here adopted may have the preference, but not so for more exact thinkers, who require that every thought shall be clearly defined and differentiated. The author brings a decidedly reputable amount of scholarship to his chosen task, though in some things the influences of the seminary and university lectures are quite manifest. His favorite authority is Von Hofman, who may be described as able but one-sided, which

latter quality very decidedly affects his admiring disciple, yet not so unfavorably but that he has given us both an able and an instructive *discussion*, rather than "explanation," of this most excellent epistle. Whenever a Calvinistic writer attempts an exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is occasion for curiosity as to how he will deal with the famous passages in the sixth and tenth chapters respecting the "falling away" of those who were once "enlightened," etc., since for dogmatic reasons all such are compelled to reject their plain and obvious sense, and so to find out some other way of escape. But because scarcely any two are agreed as to what device shall be used, since for very plain reasons no one can be expected to accept any of the palpable sophisms that have been propounded, it is always interesting to notice how each new contestant will deal with the case. Our author discusses the text with commendable fairness, confessing that each man's opinions are usually determined by dogmatic reasons (a confession which he is at liberty to make for himself and his party, but not for others), and as he is not ready to surrender the crown-jewel of his system, he decides, without much argument, that notwithstanding the strong language used by the inspired writer, the persons described in those places were not truly regenerate Christians. All of which is only a practical illustration of the maxim, "When reason is against a man, that man will be against reason."

Sermons by Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited, from Short-hand Reports, by GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Bishop Simpson, though eminently many-sided, was especially a preacher, which means more than simply a maker of sermons. His discourses had no lack of thoughts, but these were peculiarly striking by reason of their setting, and still more so on account of the indescribable power of the speaker's presence—not his voice, or gestures, or oratorical methods in their severalty, but in the clearly appreciated but never analyzed power that attended his discourses. It was feared that his sermons, reproduced after his decease, would lack much of that peculiar flavor which so largely distinguished them as spoken; nor can it be claimed that this fear was wholly groundless; and yet by the process used much of the original freshness is retained.

Only two of these five and twenty discourses were written out in full by their eloquent author, and most of them were untouched by him after their delivery. It is not pretended, however, that, as here printed, these are precisely the same as the spoken discourses, for in preparing them for the press the editor has wisely adapted them to their new condition, yet not so far changing them as to deprive them of the freedom and freshness of extempore discourses. Those who often heard the great preacher will recognize among these sermons some old acquaintances, and will be pleased to meet them in their new conditions. The work is a valuable contribution to current Methodist literature, which will also, no doubt, become permanent and abiding. Dr. Crooks has done his work well.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Autobiography of Henry Taylor, 1800–1875. Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 307, 287. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Perhaps some one will ask, "Who was Henry Taylor?" who is here named with the apparent assumption that his identity, and something of his history, will be at once recognized, while perhaps to very many it will be only a name. This question the work before us answers, and at the same time vindicates its own right to be. It is not, however, the story of great adventures or sensational achievements, nor yet the biography of either a hero or a genius, but rather a sketch of a somewhat successful career, during a long life-time not yet ended, for the writer and subject is still living, and enjoying a green old age at eighty-five, spent in London, occupied in the public service, with occasional excursions into the fields of literature, and a free mingling in society and among the leading men of his times.

Mr. Taylor, whose years correspond with those of the century, began his life in Bishop-Middleham, Durham, the son of a "farmer," who seems to have been a man of some wealth, and also of very considerable culture, and at twenty-three years old he came up to London "on a venture," intending to devote himself to the pursuit of literature, in which he had already made a hopeful beginning. But through the favor of Dr. Holland (afterward Sir Henry) he was offered and accepted a place in the Colonial Office, in which occupation, in some of its grades, he passed his subsequent active life, retiring, duly pensioned, in 1875. From his quiet retreat he now sends forth his personal recollections of men and events as they came under his observation.

The special value of this work is the clear insight that it affords into the most distinguished circle of English social and public affairs during the not remote past, and which are still considered the things of to-day. He was personally brought into intimate and honorable contact with most of the leading men of his time, both literary and political; held confidential relations with the heads of the various governments of both parties; and was the associate of many of the great lights of literature, among whom he continues to hold a respectable position, both as a writer and a critic, and also as a leader of public opinion. During his public career occurred some of the most interesting events in England's colonial history, of which he was not only a close observer but also an active and efficient promoter. He was an active opponent of slavery in the British dominions, and gives a most interesting account of the transition of the Negroes from that condition to freedom, as it took place in the West Indies during the "six-years' apprenticeship" system that began under the abolition act of 1834. The Chartist movement of 1848 affected the Colonial Office so far that the old brick house at the end of Downing Street, where its home was, was converted into a fortress, of which he gives a graphic account. His interest in the problem of human

slavery made him a deeply interested looker-on during our great Civil War. On this subject he writes:

> The real triumph of the war was in the extinction of slavery, which was *not* the object of it. If there was no hope that slavery could be extinguished as we extinguished it in our colonies, or otherwise than by force, it may be well to have had it extinguished even at the cost of that monstrous and horrible war, with all the demoralization and evil passions it has left behind it.

A capital feature of this work is its pen-and-ink portraits of an unusual number of distinguished persons with whom the author was on terms of intimacy. This is what he says of Carlyle:

> His relations with the people are without a precedent, as far as I am aware, in these times or in any—the human paradox of the period. He is their "chartered libertine," assailing them and their rights, insisting that they should be every-where ruled with a rod of iron, and yet more honored and admired by them than any demagogue who pays them knee-worship. In courting the people it is easy, no doubt, to err on the side of obsequiousness, and to lose their respect. But it is far from easy to defy them, and yet to conquer. How the conquest has been achieved by Carlyle is a perplexing problem.

As a literary man, Taylor will certainly be chiefly remembered as the author of "Philip Van Arteveldt," and of this "Autobiography," in which he has clearly builded better than he knew; and certainly he has given a deeply instructive and entertaining work: capital leisure-hour reading.

Old Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, N. Y. An Illustrated Centennial Record, Historical and Biographical. By Rev. EDWIN WARRINER, Corresponding Secretary of New York East Conference Historical Society. With an Introduction by Rev. ALBERT S. HUNT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 520. New York: Published for the Author by Phillips & Hunt. Cloth, $3; sheep, $4.

"The people called Methodists" have usually been makers of history, rather than careful custodians of their own annals. They have been so busy doing that they have failed to write down in order their own works, and the results of their efforts. The reflection of Goldsmith respecting the evanescent nature of literary renown, that when fame is increased by time it is usually too late to investigate the subject, adding beautifully, "The dews of the morning are past, and we vainly try to continue the chase by the meridian splendor," applies with increased emphasis to such a case as is here presented. Like "the kingdom of God" generally, this one of its later manifestations comes "not with observation," and its story of scarcely a hundred years is already obscured in the dimness of distance, while, like the remnants of the sibyl's books, the value of what remains increases in inverse ratio to its abundance and completeness. When Methodism began its career in New York, in 1766, there was no Brooklyn; but twenty-one years later, the minister stationed at John Street, New York, went over the ferry and preached in the open air to the few "'long-shore" people then dwelling in that vicinity, and from such small beginnings the plant of Methodism became naturalized and localized.

The book named above is the result and the monument of an untold

amount of indefatigable and well-directed labors, which, indeed, is abundantly justified by the outcome; to the author by the successful achievement of a long-cherished labor of love, and to all who care for the truth of history by the rescuing of so many almost entirely forgotten facts and incidents respecting early Methodism in Brooklyn. Though the writer tells us apologetically that "it is not an easy task to prepare memorials of persons long since dead, about whom no timely record has been made," still that his quest has not been an unsuccessful one is sufficiently evinced by this noble volume. It contains, besides a continuous record of the society and church of "Old Sands Street" from the beginning, with incidents and anecdotes, memorials of nearly two hundred persons, and half as many illustrations, chiefly portraits, many of them of ministers of connectional reputation, and also of laymen and women of that church. The book is a valuable contribution to both general and local Methodist history, and the author has made the whole Church his debtor by its preparation. It deserves a liberal sale.

Women of the Reformation. By Mrs. ANNIE WITTENMYER. 12mo, 460 pp. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $2.

This work has been carefully compiled from many sources, and from numerous volumes. The whole, however, has been rewritten, so that there is the uniformity of style that might be expected in a strictly original work. The *facts* only are borrowed; the telling of those facts is largely Mrs. Wittenmyer's. The period selected by her is the latter half of the sixteenth century, when the greater part of Europe was stirred to its depths by the wide-spread upheaval of religious thought which marked that part of European history, beginning with the time and labors of John Wiclif. The selections take a wide range, embracing not only notices of many of the noble women of England, but also of those of Germany, France, Holland, and Scotland. The book is instructive and pleasant reading, and will prove especially valuable to young people.

The Bishop of Africa; or, the Life of William Taylor, D.D. With an Account of the Congo Country and Missions. By Rev. E. DAVIES, Author of "The Gift of the Holy Ghost," etc. 12mo, pp. 192. Reading, Mass.: Holiness Book Concern.

This is a spirited book, by an earnest admirer of the latest, and in an eminent sense the best, of all the African explorers; and any defect of mental grasp and literary finish that may be detected is compensated by the writer's zeal, and the fervor of his conceptions. Its spirit is also generally kindly, though the points of the animal's claws occasionally reveal themselves, protruding from the velvet paws. Some really good people are all the time apparently spoiling for a fight. As a trumpet call to the Church, we expect good to come of this little volume, for we are persuaded that the heroic element in Christianity ought to be turned to account, especially in foreign missionary work. When the writer undertakes to expound constitutional law we somehow think of the proverb, "Shoe-maker, stick to your last."

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Descriptive Atlas of the United States, for Reference and General Information. (Copyright, 1884.) Quarto, pp. 292. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co.

Very great improvements have been made in all departments of school-books during the life of the present generation, and in none greater than in manuals of geography. By the aid of maps and pictures all the advantages of object-teaching are obtained, and the reader at home is enabled to see what are the forms and the relative extent, and in some degree the physical features, of the various countries, even better than can be seen by the traveler. The work whose title is above written, though designed especially for schools, is also well suited for the study and fireside; and since it becomes needful to renew one's geographical knowledge every few years, some such work in its successive editions is a necessity; and we know of none better fitted for general use than is this. A new edition, we are informed, is in preparation, and will soon be published.

The Children's Portion. By ALEXANDER M'LEOD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

How to interest and edify the children in the exercises of public worship is a question about equally important and difficult. Dr. M'Leod and some others have attempted its practical solution by "giving from ten to fifteen minutes of the morning (or evening) service to the instruction of the children present." The volume in hand is made up of these brief, direct, and very plain discourses, written out and somewhat modified for the press. They are good and very wholesome lessons, especially adapted to be read aloud in the family circle or in groups of young children.

Letters from Hell. Given in English. By L. W. J. S. With a Preface by GEORGE MACDONALD, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Under the above startling title we have here a rather remarkable *quasi*-religious work, originally written in Danish, but translated into English under the auspices of George MacDonald, who also contributes a Preface, in which he tells us that his sole purpose in his efforts to introduce the work to English readers is to help some "to turn away from that which alone is really horrible, the doing of unrighteousness." The "Letters" recount the experiences of a man who has lost his soul through sin, and after death finds himself in hell. Here he encounters other beings who, in various ways, and as a punishment for misdeeds done in the body, have reached the same place. They relate their histories. The misery of these sufferers grows out of their own recollections and remorse. The author expressly states that "there are no devils in this place, save our own sinful desires, evil passions, and thoughts." By giving the reader a foretaste of these possible thoughts, he endeavors to terrify sinners into repentance before it is too late. Mr. MacDonald, it would seem, is not acquainted with the scriptural lesson of the rich man and Lazarus.

My Sermon-Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses Delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle: with Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Genesis to Proverbs. I–LXIV. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Return, O Shunammite, and Other Sermons. Preached in 1884. By C. H. SPURGEON (London). 12mo, pp. 379. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A wonderful man is Charles H. Spurgeon, and as admirable as wonderful. In the forty years of his ministry in London he has preached and printed more matter than any other man—probably more than any two—and it has all been good, in the best sense, calculated to make men better and to glorify God. Upon such works merely literary criticism would be misplaced; they have the signature of the favor of God and man in their results. The former of the volumes above indicated is made up of outlines of sermons; the latter is a collection of seventeen sermons fully written out, the rather awkward title of the first of which is here given to the whole book.

Democratic Government: A Study of Politics. By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The times seem to be at once prolific of politicians (in the lower sense), and barren of statesmen and statesmanship. A few solitary scholars and writers, among them John Fiske, George Ticknor Curtis, Charles Nordhoff, and Albert Stickney, are endeavoring to perpetuate the study of the first principles of statesmanship, of which our public men appear to be willing to remain in ignorance, while struggling for the ascendency of their several parties and dividing "the spoils." We therefore welcome such a book as this, because it suggests thoughts, and is therefore valuable, even if some of its proposed measures may seem to be utopian and impracticable.

Diet for the Sick. A Treatise on the Values of Foods, their Applications to Special Conditions of Health and Disease, and on the Best Methods of their Preparation. By Mrs. MARY F. HENDERSON, Author of "Practical Cooking and Dinner Giving." Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers.

New Light on Mormonism. By Mrs. ELLEN E. DICKINSON. With an Introduction by THURLOW WEED. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This clever little book is made up largely of reliable information respecting the beginnings of the Mormon delusion, drawn from original and evidently trustworthy sources. Mr. Weed's Introduction, filling a single page, is simply an indorsement of such of the facts as came under his personal observation when, fifty years ago, he was a printer at Onondaga Hollow, with the added expression of "surprise and regret that such vulgar impostors (as were the originators of Mormonism) should have obtained a following which is even drawing proselytes by thousands from Europe." His wonder would have been less had he considered the saying of Southey, who, referring to the then recently suppressed treason of Burr, remarked, "The next Aaron Burr may discern that *fanaticism* is the most effective weapon with which ambition can arm itself;" words that, in the presence of the existing gigantic Mormon delusion, sound like the voice of prophecy, now reaching its fulfillment.

Oats or Wild Oats. Common Sense for Young Men. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. (Editor "The Christian Advocate.") 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Readers of "The Christian Advocate" will recognize these chapters as old acquaintances, though somewhat dressed up for their new presentation. Agreeable to the maxim that you should never criticise your friend's performance, for if you praise it will be credited to your partiality, and if you blame you will alienate a friend, we are prohibited from discussing this work, which emanates from the office next adjoining our own. But we will recommend all young men who may read this notice to see for themselves what are the real merits of the book.

A Manual of the Romaic or "Modern" Greek Pronunciation, and its Application to Ancient Greek. By H. A. SCOMP, Professor of Greek in Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 16mo, pp. 24. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

The Shoes of Peace. By ANNA B. WARNER. 16mo, pp. 136. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Virginia Cookery Book. Compiled by MARY STUART SMITH. 12mo, pp. 33. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Lives of Greek Statesmen: Solon—Themistokles. By Rev. Sir GEORGE W. COX, M.A., Author of "General History of Greece," etc. 16mo, pp. 227. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The first sentence of the preface of the book gives the true reason for its form and substance: "The history of a people is often best studied in the lives of individual citizens." Acting on this thought, the author of this little volume gives, in the form of biographies and personal characterizations, the chief events of their nation's career. The persons named and sketched are Solon, Peisistratos, Kleisthenes, Polykrates, Aristagoras, Miltiades, Aristeides, Themistokles, Pausanias, and Gelon. The personal histories of these together comprise the history of Greece during its brightest periods.

The Adventures of Jimmy Brown. Written by Himself, and edited by M. L. Alden. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 236. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Alden, who is also known as the *funny man* of the "New York Times," is better in a continuous story than in some of his briefer articles, in which there is occasionally a rather conspicuous want of both humor and wit. But "Jimmy Brown" is a pretty good story-teller—amusing if not instructive.

Hegel's Æsthetics. A Critical Exposition. By JOHN STEINFORT KEDNEY, S.T.D., Author of "The Beautiful and the Sublime." 16mo, pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The editor and publishers of this little volume are engaged in bringing out, in condensed forms, some of the most noted works of the later school of German philosophers—Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. This one is the fourth of the series; the preceding ones were "Kant's Pure Reason," "Schelling's Transcendental Idealism," and "Fichte's Science of Knowledge." The book now in hand is a fine embodiment of the subjective principles of art, as illustrated in artistic creations and as operating in æsthetic culture. It is a work of great merit, which will probably be read by comparatively few, but by them it will be greatly admired.

The Pattern in the Mount, and Other Sermons. By CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D., Madison Square (Presbyterian) Church, N. Y. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. $1 25.

Seventeen sermons—probably written for use in the author's ordinary Sabbath services—devoted chiefly to different phases of the Christian life. Good and wholesome, and sufficiently learned and able for their original purpose; and in their printed form quite worthy of the attention of those who delight in this kind of reading.

Assyriology. Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study. By FRANCIS BROWN, Associate Professor of Biblical Philology in Union Theological Seminary, New York (city). 12mo, pp. 96. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Union Theological Seminary, according to its custom, opened the last seminary year by a discourse, having Professor Brown as preacher, who made Assyriology his theme. His discourse was both appreciative and depreciative of his subject, as it is now treated; the great value of the study is recognized, while the almost always manifested tendency to overdo, in such cases, is pointed out with appropriate cautions. It is a well-written and suggestive production, with a valuable outline of the literature of the subject.

Elias Power, of Ease-in-Zion. By JOHN M. BAMFORD, Author of "The Disciple Among the Poor," etc. 12mo, pp. 220. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 80 cents.

An allegory illustrating the Christian life in its decadence, with suggestions for its revival. It is locally a North of England story, with a decided Yorkshire flavor.

The Overthrow of American Slavery: Containing Descriptions of Important Events and Sketches of some of the Prominent Actors. By WILLIAM G. QUEAL. (Printed for the Author.) 12mo, pp. 275. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

The whole story of the antislavery conflict, with its consummation, is here given in verse, written not without some show of cleverness, though the poetical claims of the production are not especially well sustained. It will, perhaps, interest some and amuse others, but it will not, probably, secure a permanent place in the literature of the age.

Romer, King of Norway, and Other Dreams. By ADAIR WELCKER. 16mo, pp. 245. Sacramento, Cal.: Lewis & Johnson.

The author tells us that these poems are written especially for the critics of the future. To them they are respectfully commended.

Delivered from Afar; or, Hopes Realized in Dakota. By RALPH ROGERS. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 50.

A story of "going West;" with suggestions respecting social and moral problems.

At the Sign of the Blue Boar. A Story of the Reign of Charles II. By EMMA LESLIE, Author of "Before the Dawn," etc. 12mo, pp. 313. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Miss Leslie is a good story-teller, and all her books are good; but they are many, and all pitched to the same key—and so just a little monotonous.

After the pages of this number of the Review had been made up, we were called to record the decease of our honored predecessor,

REV. DANIEL D. WHEDON, D.D., LL.D.

He was born in Onondaga, N. Y., March 20, 1808; was graduated at Hamilton College in 1828; was Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature at Wesleyan University 1833–43; was Professor of Rhetoric, Logic, and History in Michigan University 1845–53; was elected Editor of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" in 1856, and continued in that office by successive quadrennial elections till 1884, when he retired on account of failing health. His death occurred at Atlantic Highlands, N. J., Monday, June 8, 1885.

Dr. Whedon was among the early classically educated ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of his more than fifty years in the ministry only four or five were devoted to pastoral work. Twenty years were given to educational work, and twenty-eight to the editorship of the Review.

His scholarship was of a high order. He excelled in the classics, and was thoroughly a master in logic and rhetoric, but was especially at home in philosophy and in social and political science. His work as editor of a leading Review kept him abreast of the varied learning of his times, in all the varied forms of which he was recognized as an authority. He will, however, be the longest and most gratefully remembered for his work as a biblical critic and expositor, and his Commentary on the New Testament is his best monument. Though Dr. Whedon is most widely known by his public reputation, yet to a narrower circle, with whom he was brought into personal relations, his memory will be cherished as that of a man of great purity of character, and of high moral and religious qualities. And as he had, in his life-time, proved the divine goodness, even with length of days, so now, we are assured that the last promise to God's favored ones, "I will show him my salvation," has been accomplished. D. C.

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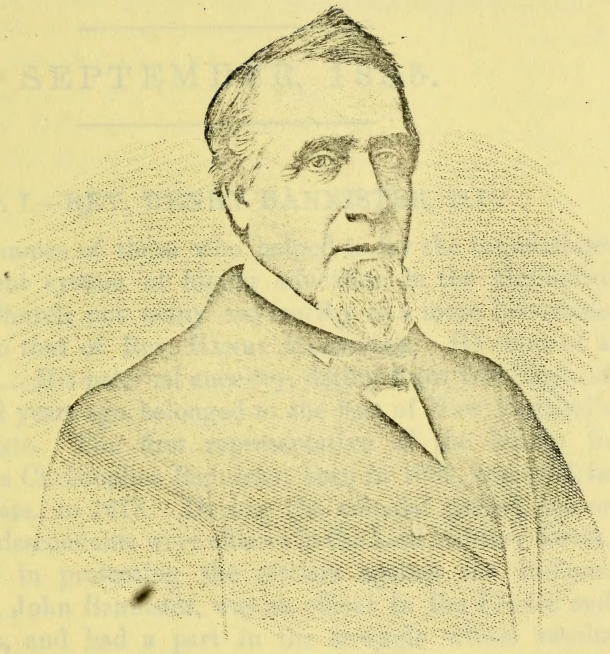

Henry Bannister

REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D.

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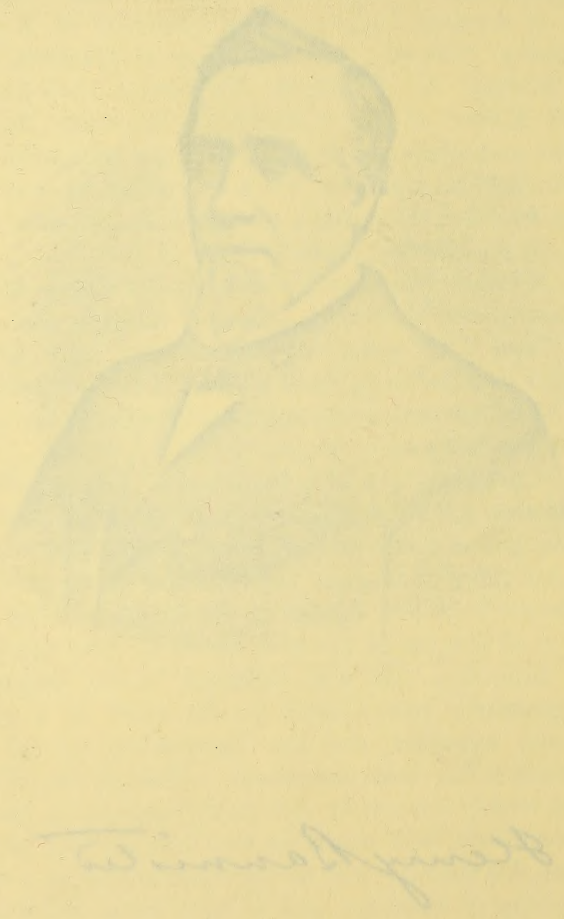


649

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—REV. HENRY BANNISTER, D.D.

AMONG the names of those who helped to lay the foundations of the present system of higher education in the Methodist Episcopal Church not many are worthy of a more honorable mention than that of Rev. HENRY BANNISTER. He came of a sturdy stock. His paternal ancestry, dating from Old England two hundred years ago, belonged to the best of New England's early colonists. The first representative of the family in America was Christopher Bannister, born in 1636, and died, in Sudbury, Mass., in 1678. During the colonial period, one or more of his descendants were officers in the local military forces, and assisted in protecting the settlers against the Indians. A grandson, John Bannister, was an officer in the French and Indian wars, and had a part in the struggle whose results changed the destinies of the North American continent from a French Catholic to an English Protestant character. A son of this officer, another John, and an uncle of our subject, was a captain in the Massachusetts forces during the war for Independence.

Henry Bannister, son of Amos, was born in Conway, Mass., October 5, 1812. When he was but three years old, his parents removed to Canton, N. Y., where his father died. When but a child he read the life of Benjamin Abbott, which deeply affected him. When about twelve years old he was deeply convicted of sin, by a sermon preached in a country school-house by Rev. B. G. Paddock; and about two years later, under the judicious teaching and guidance of a pious

school-master, he was clearly and soundly converted. His early religious associations had been with another denomination, but as he had been drawn to God by Methodist agencies he chose to cast in his lot with that people. He now felt an earnest desire for an education, and he devoted himself to study as far as he could find opportunities. When about nineteen years of age he found a door providentially opened for him to attend Cazenovia Seminary, which was commenced four years before. His friend and father in Christ, Rev. B. G. Paddock, was about to make his home at Cazenovia, and young Bannister was encouraged to go thither also. Accordingly his trunk was sent forward with the goods of his friend and patron, while he himself walked the whole distance of a hundred and fifty miles, and soon after (in 1831) he became a student in the Seminary, with only his own resolution and his trust in God for his dependence. By working and teaching and hard studying he was able to complete his preparation for college in two years. Rev. W. C. Larrabee was principal at that time, with Nelson Rounds, William H. Allen, John Johnston, J. Wadsworth Tyler, and Lockwood Hoyt for his associates. Young Bannister's earnestness, regularity, and fidelity to all his duties as a student secured for him not only proficiency in all his studies, but also the admiration of his instructors.

He entered Wesleyan University in 1833, when Dr. Wilbur Fisk was its president, and A. W. Smith and D. D. Whedon were among the professors, and later during his college course he enjoyed the advantages of the instruction of Professors Holdich and Johnston. He was graduated in 1836, having for classmates, among others, D. P. Kidder, Schuyler Seager, and D. W. Clark. In the classes below his, but his fellow-students, were D. Curry, E. Wentworth, Charles Collins, W. M. Rice, Edward Bannister, J. L. Alverson, H. M. Johnson, L. L. Knox, and B. Hawley. It was a time when giants were training younger giants for great work. The fact is obvious, however it may be explained, that the earliest classes of our colleges contained an unusual number of students who afterward became distinguished men. Not a few of them were without other pecuniary resources than their own earnings, or in some cases loans to be repaid, often secured by a life-insurance, or ad-

vances made by their parents to be repaid from their patrimony. They *went* to college rather than *were sent*, and the same zeal and devotion to a great purpose that first brought them into student life made them effective in it, and also carried them to eminence in their after careers. It is not an unmixed evil for an ambitious young man to be compelled to struggle with the burdens and embarrassments of poverty. To overcome them is the best possible assurance of ultimate success.

After his graduation Mr. Bannister attended the Auburn Theological Seminary for three years, and for the next two years was a teacher in the Academy at Lowville, N. Y. In 1840 he took charge of Fairfield Academy, N. Y., then an institution of high rank; and in 1843 was elected Principal of Cazenovia Seminary, succeeding Rev. G. G. Hapgood.

That institution, now over sixty years old, has had a most honorable career, and has occupied an advanced grade among the highest class of Methodist seminaries. It was first opened in 1824, when the only other institutions under the patronage of the Church were: Augusta College, Ky., founded in 1822; Kent's Hill Academy, Me., 1821; Wilbraham Academy, Mass., originally established at New Market, N. H., in 1818, but removed to Wilbraham in 1825. The foundation of Cazenovia Seminary was laid as early as 1817, with the design of expanding it into a college to be located at Ithaca, but the scheme shrank to the dimensions of a seminary, in which capacity it was first opened for the reception of students in 1824. In 1843, when Mr. Bannister became its principal, it had risen to be the third in the number of students in the State. The financial distress that prevailed in and after 1843 greatly embarrassed the institution. Among his first duties was the attempt to raise funds for the removal of the indebtedness of the institution, and to secure some greatly needed repairs, which he accomplished in the face of the most discouraging circumstances. After this the advance of the institution was greater than ever before. The number of students increased, and its grade of instruction was very considerably elevated; extensive additions were made to the apparatus and the library; and only a few years later, the buildings were greatly enlarged; in all of which work the principal was the chief agent. And so successful was he in his efforts that he soon placed the seminary in

the very front rank of institutions of its class in all the State. About this time his *alma mater* honored herself by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Among his associates in the board of instruction were such men as James L. Alverson, afterward president of Genesee College; Dr. A. B. Hyde, late of Allegheny College, now of Denver University; Dr. J. W. Armstrong, late principal of the State Normal School, at Fredonia, N. Y.; Dr. Edward Bannister, late president of the University of the Pacific, Cal. After a collegiate department had been added to the seminary at Lima, a similar scheme was attempted at Cazenovia; but the attempted university at Troy, and the subsequently more successful enterprise at Syracuse, seemed to forbid that undertaking, and it was at length definitely abandoned. As now arranged, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a well-ordered system of educational institutions for the Empire State, a central University, and a large and ably conducted Seminary in most of its Annual Conference territories; and with its work so organized it is able to secure the greatest aggregate results. Dr. Bannister was principal of Cazenovia Seminary for thirteen years—1843–56. During those years some thousands of students received his instruction and guidance, many of whom still live and hold his name in precious remembrance. Though he was a thorough disciplinarian, sometimes almost approaching to sternness, yet his recognized kindliness of heart, and the evident purity of his purposes, secured for him the esteem of all who came under his control. It is given to only a favored few to mold and impress so many minds—and persons afterward found in so many walks of public and private life—and in all cases for their good. Among those who were his pupils not a few have risen to distinguished positions. Among these may be mentioned General Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Hon. Charles Andrews, of the New York Court of Appeals; Charles Dudley Warner, of literary fame; Hon. Leland Stanford, of California; Rev. Dr. John P. Newman; Eliphalet Remington, Esq., of Ilion, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. W. A. Bartlett, of Washington, D. C.; Rev. O. H. Warren, of Syracuse; Professor A. M. Prentiss, of Cornell University; Hon. D. P. Baldwin, of Indiana; and Hon. D. L. Follett, of the Supreme Court of New York State; and this long and illustrious roll might be extended much further. Not

many academies can present such a record of distinguished names.

In 1856 Dr. Bannister was called to fill the chair of exegetical theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston, Ill., in which position he remained till removed by death, declining on several occasions to accept invitations to more conspicuous, but to him less desirable, positions. In 1869–70 he traveled in Europe and the Orient, visiting the great centers of European learning and culture, and studying the sites and topography of the lands of the Bible. It was while on this tour that he traveled from Jerusalem to Beyroot with Bishop Kingsley, and was with him at the time of his death at the latter place. He was connected with the old Oneida Conference from 1842 to 1856, when he became a member of Wisconsin Conference, and remained such till his decease in 1882. He was a member of three successive General Conferences—those of 1864, 1868, 1872. In 1870 he was appointed by the United States government a visitor to the Military Academy at West Point.

Rev. John Dempster, D.D., who is the recognized pioneer of special biblical and theological schools for training candidates for the Methodist ministry, after ten or more years devoted to that work at Concord, N. H., during which time the "Biblical Institute" at that place became thoroughly established—it still lives as the "School of Theology" of Boston University—undertook a like work at Evanston, near Chicago, aided by the noble liberality of a Christian lady, Mrs. Eliza Garrett, and in honor of its patron, and in remembrance of the title of his earliest "school of the prophets," Dr. Dempster called the new seminary "Garrett Biblical Institute." His original associates in its board of instruction were Drs. D. P. Kidder and Henry Bannister. To this new field of labor and of Christian endurance Dr. Bannister brought the same transparent honesty, fidelity of purpose, and earnest love for his work, and especially the marked personal care for the subjects of his teachings, that had distinguished him at Cazenovia—qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for his work.

The visitor at Evanston to-day finds but little to remind him of the newness and crudeness of the condition of thirty years ago of that quiet seat of Christian learning, and now flourish-

ing suburb of a great and wealthy city. Every thing was to be begun and carried forward with the fewest and simplest appliances, and with subjects for tuition as crude and unprepared as were their surroundings. Into this work Professor Bannister threw himself with characteristic devotion, and in it he continued with indomitable perseverance, laboring patiently and hopefully through all its formative stages, till he saw it established and enlarged into its full proportions, standing side by side with the noble array of kindred institutions which together combine to make Evanston at once the Oxford and the Mecca of the North-west. Here he lived and labored, happily and successfully, till, smitten by disease he ceased to live and labor, April 14, 1882—one of the noble few of whom, at the close of his career, one instinctively exclaims, "Well done, good and faithful."

Of his work and character, a judicious and not overdrawn estimate is given in the reported remarks made by his surviving associate, Dr. Ninde (now Bishop), from which brief extracts are subjoined:

In the sphere of Christian education, and during the past twenty-seven years in the sphere of ministerial education, he has labored with unwearied devotion and distinguished success. He came to this infant seminary in response to what he solemnly regarded as a providential call. Here he found a congenial field, which for more than a quarter of a century satisfied his pure ambition and employed his best energies; and as the result, hundreds have gone forth into the various fields of ministerial service bearing his stamp. In sunshine and in storm, the welfare of this cherished institution was uppermost in his thoughts and affections. His was that paternal interest which sets no bounds to its sacrifices and toils. And surely no hand has been more influential in shaping the inner life of the school. His views of ministerial culture, and of the province of the theological school as contributing to it, were singularly broad, progressive, and practical.

The contemplation of the possibilities of Garrett Biblical Institute kindled his intense nature to high enthusiasm. But his calm judgment taught him that these possibilities could only be realized by bringing the educational work of the school to the highest standard of excellence. This he sought with unresting endeavor and inspiring hopefulness. To find out and adopt improved methods; to broaden, unify, and perfect the course of study; to secure in the administration of the school the utmost harmony and order; and withal to inspire its students with those

high ideals which should lead to the most constant, strenuous, yet cordial devotion to their work, were ends which he never ceased to cherish and promote. He could not restrict his interest to his own department, important as that might be. His generous mind embraced the whole work of the school, and sought by sympathetic co-operation to promote its entire efficiency.

But back of the teacher was the man. Underlying his great professional usefulness was a character as rare as it was beautiful, a character whose leading traits were manifest to all who shared his friendship. Strong in the conscious purity of his intentions, he had nothing to conceal. He believed in the truth—in its divinity, its invincibleness, its imperishable vitality; and hence his honest convictions were presented with a refreshing frankness and manly freedom. Yet this frankness was joined with such extreme modesty that it was with difficulty he could be persuaded to accept positions or discharge offices which would bring him into personal prominence.

The intenseness of his emotional nature, tempered by a mature and sober judgment, gave great beauty to his spiritual life. He could appreciate to the full the heart-side of religious experience. Those portions of the divine word which expressed the Gospel in its richest invitations and privileges stirred his spirit to its depths. The unseen world was to him an every-day reality; its mysteries were in his most familiar thoughts. And so in his company, as one of his students well expressed it, there was the strange sense of other-worldedness. His very presence was a benediction, and his daily life an unspoken prayer. It is not surprising that death was disarmed in the presence of such a soul.

Respecting his personal religious life his pastor testified at his funeral:

He was a humble and devout Christian, of simple faith and unwavering trust in God for a full and a present salvation. Regular in his attendance on the public service and on the prayer-meeting, he was an attentive hearer, and his prayers and testimonies were marked with great earnestness and simplicity. Quietly, unobtrusively, he has moved among us as a holy man, most exemplary in his life and character, desiring above all things to be a true servant of God, and leading men to love him because of his blameless life and Christian friendship. He illustrated in an eminent degree the harmony of extensive learning with a humble piety.

Such was the career and the Christian character of Henry Bannister. He lived well, and died well; and dying in life's early afternoon, he enriched the Church by his good name.

Art. II.—STRUGGLES AND ROMANCE OF A GENIUS—BERLIOZ.

[The history of genius affords warnings of dangers to be guarded against quite as largely as incentives to high endeavors; and often the most eminent successes are associated with faults and failures that more than counterbalance all these. The account here given very clearly displays the undesirableness of that kind of genius which manifests itself in the excessive development of certain forms of taste and artistic impulse, while the less brilliant but incomparably more worthy qualities of mind and heart are neglected. Berlioz was certainly a rare genius; but who would choose to be like him, as a man? And yet all that is really excellent in genius is quite compatible with moral and social worth.]

Our title assumes that Berlioz was a genius. That he was such, "more or less," will hardly now be denied by the most pertinacious of his many hostile critics. In the most disputed of his compositions can be found passages of such power and beauty as could proceed only from a mind of real genius, though that they have faults, sometimes glaring faults, need not be denied. Hardly has there been a notable man in the history of music who was pursued by more unrelenting critical persecution; but since his death, his works have been daily attaining ascendency among his countrymen, so long reluctant to acknowledge his claims, and he now seems destined to become one of the art idols of the French capital.

He is now acknowledged to be the greatest of musical "instrumentalists;" but it was precisely for this superiority that he was so persistently criticised. The great musician is a great poet. For what is music if it is not poetry—poetry in sound—an attempt to turn the very atmosphere of the planet into an organ for poetical recitation and rapture? And this auricular poetry (if it may be so called) is as genuine as poetry on paper—not only rhythmical in intonation, as written poetry is rhythmical in phrase, but, like written poetry, expressive of sentiment and scene, of character and action. Berlioz insisted that, by sufficient instruments and their right collocation, orchestral effects might be made as expressive as written poetry, and nearly if not quite as much so as the scenic representations of the stage. If his theory needs some qualification, it is, nevertheless, essentially true; he practically dem-

onstrated it before most of Europe, and died victorious over his critics. And what conception could more elevate and ennoble instrumental music?

Beethoven confounded his critical enemies by his "Symphony on the Battle of Vittoria," in which (anticipating Berlioz's theory) he demonstrated the possibility of expressing, by orchestral effects—by sounds—the scenes of a combat. A contemporary journal (the "Leipsic Music Gazette") acknowledged his victory with some surprise. "The effect and the illusion were complete," it said, "and it can be affirmed, without reserve, that there exists not in the domain of imitative music a work similar to this." This theory of instrumental imitative music, more or less intuitively anticipated by all great masters of the art, was, we repeat, the chief offense of Berlioz—his capital heresy. The critics, who at first proscribed him as a self-conceited and talentless innovator, were compelled, in time, to acknowledge that he was not quite talentless, though an unpardonable heretic. Like Beethoven, he has triumphed, in his main heresy at least; and not a few good judges esteem him an "epochal" man in music, for, in respect to instrumentation, he initiated something like a revolution in the history of the art.

He was, then, we need not hesitate to say, a man of genius. Apart from his merits as a composer, he had the virtues and the vices of genius of the "artistic temperament." He was passionate, capricious, romantic, amorous, self-reliant, and world-defiant; a man whose soul was wholly possessed by his ideal—his ideal of life as well as of art. He was fierce in his resentments, and fought out, unfalteringly, the contest with his critics. But he had a warm and a profound heart, and by its instincts he conceived his noblest thoughts, his best ideals; for, as Vauvenargues says, "Great thoughts come from the heart." Inevitably such a man's life must be one of struggles. The whole career of Berlioz was a bravely sustained fight against formidable trials; and it is these chiefly that we propose here to record. Their lessons are far from pessimistic; they teach, in a manner seldom seen in any one human life, the power of determined will, and the invincibility of right ideas—their ultimate, their predestined, success. Whatever the reader may think of alleged defects in his music, we are sure he cannot, after our brief study of his life, decline to acknowledge him

a hero as well as a genius. And is there any higher ideal of intellectual life than genius combined with heroism?

His trials began with the first revelations of his genius. He was born on December 11, 1803, and was a born musician. His little native town on a hill-side (Côte Saint-André, not far from Lyons) was not without rural charms. It afforded him views of the distant Alps, and throughout his life he was vividly susceptible of the poetry of scenery. While yet a child he heard a hymn in a convent which awoke his musical instinct. "I saw heaven open," he says, "a heaven a thousand times more pure and more beautiful than that of which I had heard so much. It was my first musical impression." Before his tenth year he had learned, in the solitude of his mountain home, to sing "at first sight," and to play two instruments; and in his twelfth year he studied "composition." A romantic incident, which colored his whole remaining life, occurred in this year. On a visit to his grandparents, at Meylen, he saw, for the first time, his "Estelle." She was a young lady of eighteen years, of mature beauty, "elegant and tall, with great eyes always smiling, hair that might have ornamented the helmet of Achilles, Parisienne feet," etc. The boy was smitten, through his whole being, with a pure, an ideal passion—one of those poetic or Platonic passions which not a few men of genius have precociously experienced. With most it is a brief episode, and is remembered as a charming dream; with Berlioz it never ceased to be a reality. "The romantic vertigo seized me," he wrote in his old age, "and has never left me." He suffered profoundly; Estelle divined his secret, and, hoping it would be transient, endeavored to relieve him by womanly caresses. "I hoped nothing," he says, "I understood nothing; but my heart experienced inexpressible suffering. I passed entire nights in desolation." Seventeen years later he attempted to find her, and had a brief yet passionate glimpse of her, but she was then a wife and mother. After sixteen years more he learned her address, and sent her a letter, but received no reply. When both of them were old he sought her again, as we shall see, with all the ardor of his first love, and her sympathetic interest for him consoled his last years. This incident is worth alluding to here, as it prompted his genius. He read with enthusiasm ("hundreds of times," he says)

Florian's pastoral, "Estelle et Nemorin," because of its name; and some of his earliest and hardest studies were an attempt to make an opera of it. The image of Estelle was ever before him, beckoning him onward. A once famous Scotch critic, Lord Kames, said that we should never speak of our disappointments in love, for the world cannot sympathize with such griefs; on the contrary, it always sees something ridiculous in them. Berlioz thought otherwise, and seems never tired of alluding to this romance of his childhood. It was his first trial, and doubtless he deemed it one of his greatest; but, by its genial and prolonged influence upon him, it may be considered one of his greatest blessings. After the interval of seventeen years between his first and second sight of Estelle, though unrecognized by her at the time, he turned away, he says, exclaiming in his heart, "Estelle! still beautiful! Estelle! the nymph, the hamadryad of Saint Eynard, of the green hills of Meylen." "I returned," he adds, "all vibrant with emotion." He sought relief in music. He discovered an old flageolet among some rubbish of his home, and, after distracting the family with it for two days, he had mastered a "heroic chant." He was soon composing duets, trios, and quartets. He wrote a "Pot-pourri" on Italian themes, and then a quintet for the flute and violins, alto and bass, which was successfully played by himself and some friendly amateurs. "It was a triumph," he writes, "my father alone not sharing in the applause." "All my compositions were tinged with a profound melancholy, all in the minor key. I could not avoid it; my romantic love swayed my feelings. In this state of my soul, reading without ceasing Florian's 'Estelle,' I proposed to put some of its episodes into music, and failed not to do so." He read the lives of Gluck and Haydn with great agitation. "What glory," he exclaimed, "what beautiful art, what happiness to cultivate it as a great master!"

His next trial, if less romantic, was to be more real, for it was to agonize his best filial instincts. His good mother was a Catholic devotee, and could not conceive of the musical profession but as implying frivolity of life and the dissipation of the Parisian opera and theaters. To allow her boy to be trained for it was to consign him over to perdition in both worlds. His father was a physician, the Hippocrates of the

village, with a wide circuit of "practice" and renown through all the surrounding country; a student, who had won a prize at Montpelier by a pamphlet on some subject of his profession; a daily sufferer from an internal malady for which he too freely used opium; a skeptic, believing only in theological unbelief; a sturdy character, but, withal, fond of his boy—fondling him as a bear might his cub. Yet the old man had a genuine heart, and was at last carried to his grave with the tears and lamentations of the neighboring peasantry, for he had been generous to them in days of affliction. He hoped to keep up, by his son, the family dynasty in his profession. He early withdrew him from school, and worked hard at his education at home, drudging with him in Latin, and even in the humbler studies of geography, arithmetic, etc. He was at first proud of the child's talent in music, and provided him instruments and a teacher in the art, blinded by his fondness against any anticipation that he might thus defeat his own dearest hope respecting him. He had no theoretical notions of education, especially of the part which the heart plays in it, as taught by Goethe in "Wilhelm Meister"—for "Wilhelm Meister," like Rousseau's "Emile," is substantially a treatise on education in the form of a novel. The natural predilections of the child, especially when they are obviously strong, should be the indices, the guides, of his education; they are the instincts of his heart, and reveal his original capabilities. If you secure his heart you secure his head; and this means the success of his life, and its happiness as well, for does not an untold amount of the misery of intelligent men come from their misdirected education, and consequent misplacement in positions of life? The veteran doctor of Côte Saint-André had no such reflections, and when the time came for his boy to seriously begin his medical studies the old man was surprised and astonished at his hesitation. A temporary compromise was made, the father promising him a "magnificent flute" from Lyons, furnished with all "the new keys," if he would attempt the study of anatomy under his own instruction. This instrument had been a long time the object of his ambition, and he consented, but he went to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed, oppressed with grief. "This decision seemed," he says, "the absolute overthrow of the natural order of my life—monstrous and impossible."

A cousin was studying medicine in the family, and young Berlioz was sent with him to the Medical School in Paris. The father supposed he had triumphed, but was soon to discover his mistake. Berlioz was disgusted and sickened by the revolting scenes of the hospitals and dissecting-room, and was quickly absorbed again in his musical studies. He pored over the compositions of Gluck in the library of the Royal Conservatory. "I read and re-read them," he says, "I copied them, I learned them by heart; they made me lose my sleep; I forgot to eat and drink, I was delirious over them." He wrote to his father, pleading for his muse, but received indignant admonitions to abandon his "folly," his "chimera," and devote himself to the "honorable career traced out for him." The old man became more and more obstinate and menacing; Berlioz became equally obstinate, "excited," he says, "even to furor." Lesueur was, at that time, all-powerful at the Conservatory; Berlioz did not dare to enter it as a student, but was received by the master as one of his private pupils. He speaks affectionately of Lesueur, but the originality of his genius soon revolted from the "antediluvian theories" which he was required to study; and he had, later, to "recommence his musical education from the foundation to the crown." Lesueur, in spite of a sort of affection for the youth, persisted, through life, to oppose his peculiar ideas of music, and exasperated not a little his trials.

Cherubini was Director of the Conservatory, and became his life-long enemy, denouncing him in hot wrath and broken French. Ludicrous scenes sometimes occurred between them. Berlioz one day entered, by mistake, the library of the Conservatory through a wrong passage (the *porte feminine*) and was reported by an assistant as a transgressor. While absorbed in Gluck's compositions, among numerous students, he was approached by Cherubini and his accuser; when the latter pointed him out as the offender, the master flew into a rage, for he had vague unfavorable recollections of the young innovator, and with "hair on end" and "flashing eyes" exclaimed, "Ah! ah! it is you dat comes by de wrong porte." "Monsieur," replied Berlioz, "now that I know your rule, I will obey it at another time." "Another time! another time!" cried the enraged Italian. "Vat for you come here?" "I

come to study the compositions of Gluck." "And vat is it you regard de compositions of Gluck?"—for Gluck was yet little sanctioned in France. "Monsieur," responded Berlioz, losing his *sang-froid*, "the compositions of Gluck are the best dramatic music I know of, and I have need of the permission of no one to come here to study them; the library is open to the public, and I have a right to profit by it." "De—de right?" "Yes, monsieur." "I's forbid you to come again!" "I will nevertheless return." "Trembling with fury," Cherubini demanded, "How, how you calls yourself?" "Monsieur, my name will perhaps be known some day or other, but for the present you shall not hear it." "Arrest, arrest him," cried the enraged master, "and put him in prison!" "and master and assistant," writes Berlioz, "to the stupefaction of the company, pursued me around the table, prostrating chairs and desks, without power to reach me, and I ended the scene by flying to the street with ringing laughter, and shouting, 'You shall have neither me nor my name, but I will soon return here to study Gluck;'" and he did so with "official" permission. Cherubini never forgave Berlioz, and obstructed him through all his early struggles. In a few years, and in spite of the master's opposition, he was to become himself Conservateur, and head of the library whence he was chased. Hottin, the assistant who denounced him to Cherubini, became his devoted "*garçon d'orchestre*," and the "most rampant partisan" of his music.

His resolution never quailed. He plied his studies, and produced tentative compositions, some of which won commendation from his musical associates. The "Maitre de Chapelle" of Saint Roch, requested him to write a mass to be executed in that then "fashionable" church, on a special occasion, and promised him a hundred choice musicians and a still larger choir. He worked diligently on it, endeavoring to imitate the style of Lesueur; but it failed utterly in the rehearsals, and was abandoned. "The lesson, at least," he writes, "was not lost." Genius can never dispense with work, though it insists upon its own methods of work; its very egotism makes it jealous of its faults. He rewrote the whole composition, in accordance with his peculiar theory of instrumentation; but his parents heard of the *fiasco* and ridiculed his hopes, demanding that he should turn to better work. Determined to

succeed, he borrowed twelve hundred francs, in order to command an adequate orchestra for a new experiment with the defeated composition; and it was now "splendidly executed" in Saint Roch, and again at Saint Eustache. He nevertheless was not content with it, and burnt it, together with his opera of "Estelle" and a Latin oratorio.

A new trial awaited him. He entered the lists of annual competition for prizes, before the musical section of the Institute. Candidates had to pass through a preliminary trial of their compositions, and the least successful were excluded. Berlioz was unsuccessful. His father learned the result; renewed admonitions and denunciations poured in upon him, and his pecuniary allowance from home was stopped. What could he further do, for to persist was to starve? He returned to Côte Saint-André to plead for what he felt to be his destiny. A domestic scene ensued there—the youth entreating, the mother remonstrating with tears, the father grim and stiff with resolution, and declaring, "Thou shalt never return to Paris." No king with his dynasty imperiled by the perversity of an heir could be more chagrined; but, after some sleepless nights, the old man had calmer reflections, and saw that it was worse than useless to force the youth; that he could never be made in this way a successful representative of the medical dynasty of Côte Saint-André. Another compromise was made, and he was allowed to resume his musical studies on condition that they should be abandoned if, after a given time, they were not crowned with some signal success. He was warned by his father not to make known this decision to his mother, and to escape secretly. But she soon scented it out, and, bursting into his room, exclaimed, "Your father has had the weakness to yield to your culpable projects; I will not. I conjure you, persist not;" and, falling on her knees before him, she entreated him as only a mother could. He believed his "projects" would, some day or other, make her proud of him, and persisted. "Thou refusest, with thy mother at thy feet!" she cried, "then depart; dishonor thy name; kill thy parents; thou art no more my son; I curse thee!" She disappeared from the premises, and hid herself in a country house of the neighborhood. Aided by his father and two sisters, he made a last attempt to obtain from her an adieu, and a revocation of her

cruel words. They got a glimpse of her, reading under a tree; but, on perceiving them, she flew away; they pursued her, "my father appealing to her," he says, "my sisters and myself weeping; but all was in vain; I had to depart without embracing my mother, without obtaining a word or a look, and burdened with her malediction."

He returned to Paris to relieve his heart by hard work; he economized his allowance (of twenty-five dollars a month) to repay the money he had borrowed for his mass at Saint Roch; he taught pupils in music and lived "like a cenobite," in the sixth story of an old house, on seven or eight cents a day, eating, usually, bread, raisins, and prunes. Fate itself could hardly conquer such a soul. For, after all, what is fate in human affairs but the determinations of the human will? With comparatively few exceptions, he is master in all this world who is master of himself. If Berlioz was not master of himself in some of the ordinary affairs of life, it was because he recklessly declined to regard them; he was master of himself in the supreme purpose of his life—his musical aims—and in this he was invincible.

He continued to prosecute his studies, received lugubrious letters from his father, who regretted the concession he had made, and had many a wakeful night; but, after much seeking, he obtained employment in a second-rate orchestra, which afforded him an addition of ten dollars a month to his resources. By joining a young friend, living in the same chamber with him, and cooking his own food, he was enabled to improve his diet, spending on it twenty cents a day. He was now instructed by Lesueur and Reicha, for he had entered the Conservatory. Both were able masters, but were incapable of appreciating his peculiar genius. "They taught me nothing," he says, "in instrumentation." By studying Beethoven, Gluck, Weber, and Spontini—by conversations with virtuosos and trials that he made with their various instruments—and finally by "a little instinct," he came to perceive "the secret relation between musical expression and the special art of instrumentation;" but "no person," he remarks, "had placed me on the way." He tried his luck again, at the next annual competition before the Institute, by an elaborate orchestral composition; but a feeble pianist, representing the orchestra, failed in a difficult part of

the piece, and it was declared "inexecutable." He was enraged at the "incredible organization of these competitions—the tyrannical absurdity of institutions which strangle talent."

These successive trials were enough, certainly, to utterly discourage any ordinary man, but it is evident by this time that Berlioz was not an ordinary man. Conscious of the power that was within him, he only worked the harder, studying his models, and making compositions, some of which won him enthusiastic friends among amateurs who saw in his originality traits of genius. He was encouraged to attempt a public concert, including in its programme some of his own productions. Performers from the Conservatory, the Odeon, etc., volunteered their assistance, but he had no little difficulty in procuring a hall. The government superintendent of the "Beaux-Arts" allowed him to use that of the Conservatory, though Cherubini spitefully opposed this concession till it was authoritatively repeated by the superintendent. Some of the performers, having no hope of compensation, fell off in the preparatory rehearsals; and others, who were faithful, were destitute of talent. They were, nevertheless, enthusiastic over some of the pieces, with "tempests of bravos." The concert itself was not satisfactory to Berlioz, but was applauded by the public, especially three pieces from his Saint Roch mass, and the journals warmly praised it. Fétis, a music critic and journalist, later his implacable enemy, "himself announced," he remarks, "my entrance on a public career as a veritable event. But the receipts were not sufficient to pay the expenses of lighting the hall, the placards, etc. Still the occasion was of real utility to me, for I saw how much remained to be done in order to surmount the difficulties of such attempts."

He was soon afterward engaged as music critic of the "Revue Européenne," and also of the "Journal des Debats," and had thus the means of defending, before the French public, his peculiar opinions and his favorite masters—Gluck, Spontini, Weber, and Beethoven. Some of Beethoven's Symphonies had recently been introduced by the Concert Society of the Conservatory; and this was an event in Paris, especially to Berlioz. "I thus saw," he says, "the immense apparition of Beethoven rise above the horizon." The experiment was, however, not without great difficulties: "It was a struggle against

the reticence, the tacit opposition, the blame more or less disguised, the irony of the French and Italian composers, who were unwilling to see a temple erected in France to a German whose compositions they considered monstrosities; redoubtable, nevertheless, to their school."

He was admitted to the next competition before the Institute, and won the second prize; but he was disappointed, for he had been ambitious for the first, and deserved it. The second prize was accompanied with a crown publicly awarded, a gold medal of little value, and the right of gratuitous entrance to all the lyrical theaters of the city. The advantages of the first prize were much greater; in addition to those of the second it had higher honor, and assured the artist an annual pension of six hundred dollars for five years, on condition that he spend the first two years at the French Academy in Rome, the third in Germany, and the remainder in Paris. Could Berlioz have won this, it would have ended, he believed, his grievous troubles at Côte Saint-André. The final decision in the competition before the Institute was made in those days by a large jury of not only musicians, but savants, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, etc., in whose presence a selection of the best compositions offered was executed in private session. That of Berlioz produced visible effect on the miscellaneous judges; and it was certain a spontaneous vote would be in his favor, when (as an attendant who witnessed the scene informed him) a musical member, who was hostile to him, changed the mind of an architect by denouncing the Beethoven style, and declaring that Berlioz would "never enter a good route; he is a fool, and has Beethoven on the brain"—citing Cherubini as authority. A musical friend spoke out with emphasis for the piece, opponents responded, and Cherubini himself declared that "this pretended effect of instrumentation does not exist; there is no sense in it; it is detestable to orchestral artists." A sort of *mêlée* ensued, the painters, architects, sculptors, etc., declaring that they could not decide if the musicians were so discordant. Three of the painters (including Regnault) finding their favorable opinion denied, so far distrusted their own judgment as finally to refuse to vote, and thus the struggling young genius lost the first prize, though he came within two votes of it. Some years later he published a

severe but very comical satire on this annual farce of the Institute, and it has since been thoroughly reformed. All musical students in Paris should be grateful to him. He entered the lists again, at the competition of the next year, this time with strong hope, for his second prize of the preceding year was a tacit title to it, and the musical public generally expected his success. But again he failed, though his composition was an unchanged extract from his lyrical drama of "Lelio," and was afterward successful in his concerts in Germany. The academicians evaded him by declining to give the first prize to any candidate. Boieldieu, who was one of them, assured him the next day that he lost it only by his theory of instrumentation.

Girard de Nerval's translation of Goethe's "Faust" now fell into his hands, and was read with enthusiasm. He saw in it almost boundless range for compositions in accordance with his notions of instrumentation, and published "eight scenes" from it, which brought him an appreciative letter from Marx, the celebrated Berlin critic. But he himself afterward saw serious faults in the work, and hastened to gather in all the copies he could find, and burned them. It was, nevertheless, the germ of what is now his most effective and most popular production —his legend of "Faust." Other and more satisfactory labors ensued, and meanwhile the next competition, before the Institute, approached; he had four times failed, yet he resolved to face the learned body again, but, whatever might be the result, to never afterward reappear there. On the appointed day, while he was awaiting his fate in the library, Pradier, the sculptor, came to him beaming with delight, and pressing his hand exclaimed, "You have the first prize." "He seemed," says Berlioz, "in his joy, to be himself the laureate, while I appeared the academician, for my opinion of this competition before the Institute did not allow my self-love to be flattered by the result; still it was an *official* success which would save me with my parents, and afforded me a pension, a title, independence, and even ease for five years"—and also an artistic home in Rome. Even his enemies seemed to relent before such "pluck" and perseverance, and gave him a unanimous vote—an unprecedented fact.

It was customary to crown the successful candidate, and execute his composition publicly, two months after the decision.

Berlioz went through the ceremony of the coronation without very grateful emotion, before a crowded assembly composed of academicians, musicians, artists, fashionable dames—the best society of the capital; but here again he was to have one of his severest trials. He himself records the ludicrous story, with frankness but with intense indignation. His composition was the cantata of his "Sardanapalus." In its previous execution before the Institute jurors, he had cautiously omitted its most characteristic scene—the self-destruction of Sardanapalus and his women amidst the conflagration of his palace. He knew that its necessary instrumentation could not be represented by the single piano used on that occasion; but now he was to be favored with a full orchestra. Still he could hardly hope that, with their inexperience in such instrumentation, they would succeed. But he had received the prize, and it could not be forfeited in the remaining part of this farce, as he considered it. He recklessly inserted the omitted part. When the orchestra reached this difficult climax it utterly broke down. The instruments became confused and intershocked. The audience became still more confused. Madame Malibran, who sat by his side, "bounded backward as if a mine exploded at her feet." Berlioz uttered a cry of horror and threw his manuscript composition across the orchestra. All was in racket—"the performers and academicians scandalized, the auditors mystified, the friends of the composer indignant." It was a thoroughly French scene. "A hundred thousand maledictions on the musicians!" wrote Berlioz, when he recalled it years later in the days of his success; "it was another musical catastrophe, the most cruel of all that I had hitherto experienced."

Liszt called upon him, for the great pianist could appreciate his genius, and heartily sympathized with him in his undeserved disaster; and their friendship never ended. Berlioz could not be discouraged. He immediately projected a concert at the Conservatory, determined to repeat his "Sardanapalus," together with his "Symphonie Fantastique." He had now many appreciative friends, and not a few critical musicians perceived that what was denounced as his extravagant originality was genuine talent. Habeneck, orchestral leader at the Conservatory, offered his services as director, and the orchestra of the Conservatory gave theirs gratuitously. Cherubini rancorously opposed

all his preparations, and other enemies endeavored to deter him, "for," writes the young heretic, "my impiety in regard to certain scholastic musical creeds exasperated them." The "efforts of some French critics against what they called my extravagant system, my follies, my nonsense, were incredible." But the concert was a success. Liszt was present, observed by all the audience for his "applause and enthusiastic demonstrations." Certain parts of the symphony produced "*une grande sensation;*" the "Marche au Supplice" elicited tumultuous applause that shook (*bouleversa*) the hall, and the cantata that ended so disastrously before now triumphed. The public journals passionately discussed the performance, some for, some against it. Berlioz was sufficiently vindicated, and he packed up his small baggage, and, in accordance with the terms of his hard-won prize, departed for Rome, reluctantly but victoriously.

His dearest victory was at Côte Saint-André, where he paused on his way. The old folks at home were now not only reconciled, but proud of him; he had won the highest musical students' honor at Paris; he was independent for five years; he was to be supported by his country, at Rome; he was to be a famous man, and they were all to be famous with him; the maternal farewell kiss could be no longer refused him.

Americans whose travels in Europe have reached Rome can hardly fail to remember the picturesque "Villa Medici," the palatial French Academy, whither France sends her most promising students of art—painters, sculptors, architects, musicians—for the completion of their education; and where they form a select society, a charming little æsthetic commonwealth. It is reached by the marble stairs of the Piazza di Spagna, the resort of the Roman "models." Some parts of the edifice show the handiwork of Michael Angelo. Its beautiful gardens, decorated with antique specimens of art, were designed in the taste of Lenôtre; the apartments of its Director (who was now Horace Vernet, the painter) are sumptuous enough for a prince. Its pupils' rooms are modestly furnished studios. It has been pronounced one of the most splendid points of view in the world. It stands on a declivity of the Pincian Hill, the top of which (studded with numerous busts of the great men of Italy) is the fashionable afternoon promenade of the Romans, and near by

is the French Ursuline Convent, famous for its vesper music. Enchanting views surround it; all Rome, with its great monuments, lies below, and in the distance are seen the Sabine Hills, Monte Cavo, and the Camp of Hannibal.

On arriving there, Berlioz was received in the refectory, with loud hurrahs by the students who were lingering, in after dinner talks, at the table, for some of them knew him personally, and more of them had heard of his Parisian struggles and success. He was happy for a few days, frolicking and rollicking with his comrades (who mixed, however, artistic discussions with most of their clamors) at the Café Greco (a detestable cabaret, but the customary rendezvous of artists), at the Lepri restaurant, but still more in the gardens of the Academy, where they had debates on their favorite studies, and where, assembled in the moonlight around a marble fountain, Berlioz thumbed his guitar, and sung to them melodies from the "Freyschütz," "Oberon," "Don Juan," etc. They extemporized there concerts which, at the usual academic signal for retiring, broke out in *crescendo*, accompanied by the howlings of frightened dogs around the Pincio, and brought out to their doors the barbers of the Piazzo di Spagna, who laughingly shouted to one another, "*Musica Francese!*" "But these juvenile extravagances could not long satisfy the serious ambition of Berlioz; he had come to Rome to study music; the city afforded boundless resources for the painters, sculptors, and architects, but none, comparable to those of Paris, for the musician. To him its music was little above contemptible, even in the grandest churches. We have all, later, learned what it was from the "letters" of Mendelssohn, who was then in Rome. Berlioz fretted impatiently under this privation. His "spleen," as he calls it, brought on a state of mind which a physiologist might pronounce partial insanity; he rambled over the adjacent country with his gun and guitar, and, at last, over most of Italy. The companionship of Mendelssohn became his chief relief, and ripened into enduring friendship. He was bound, by the conditions of the first prize, to send annually to the Parisian academicians who had awarded it a specimen of his work at Rome; he tricked them again, sending them his "Resurrexit," an extract from his old mass at Saint Roch. The wiseacres (wise enough in almost every thing save music and common sense) were quite

pleased with it; and, supposing it was a new production, avowed that it showed remarkable progress, that it was a manifest proof of the good influence of Rome on his ideas, and of the abandonment of his former false tendencies. More than ever he now despised the musical judgment of the "immortals" of the Institute.

His Roman life had become intolerable to him, and he obtained from Vernet permission to return to Paris before the expiration of his term. He sat for his portrait, which still hangs in the refectory, and turned his face northward to confront the world in the more public career for which he had been so long and so bravely preparing.

He was now about twenty-eight years old; they had been years of almost unintermitted conflict, with just enough occasional success to save him from despair and self-abandonment. And the hard fight was not yet ended.

As he descended Mont Cenis, on his way homeward, he saw the delicious valley of Gresivaudan, through which the Isere meanders, and Saint Eynard burst upon his view—the *Stella Montis*, the scene of his first interview with Estelle, whom he still loved; for all his "subsequent loves," he says, "were dominated by this passion" of his boyhood. He was about to try a new passion which might at least be a relief to the old one, but which was to become one of the saddest afflictions of his life. Before his departure for Rome, the English actress Henrietta Smithson had shared, with great *eclat*, in the exhibition of Shakespeare's plays in Paris. She was the theatrical idol of the hour. Berlioz was determined to win her hand, but was unsuccessful. She was now again in Paris; but the old *furor* for Shakespeare was gone, and the actress was suffering from neglect and crushing debts. Berlioz projected a concert, to consist entirely of his own compositions, one of which was to be an appeal to the heart of the lady. By the aid of a friend he secured her presence. She was profoundly affected by the music, and discovered his design; he won her, and married her. The concert itself was a signal success with the public; it was a demonstration of his theory of instrumentation made by an adequate, "an immense, orchestra." For a time the occasion seemed a complete triumph, both for his passion and his theory; and it was, for the latter: but he had plunged into his new

love with his usual impetuosity, and time brought repentance. An "incompatible" domestic life led, at last, to a "separation;" an amicable one, in the French style, but not the less a wreck of his private life. Another evil followed; before going to Rome he had quarreled with Fétis, the music critic and editor, who had hailed his appearance before the public, in an early concert, as an important "event." Fétis superintended a Parisian edition of Beethoven's Symphonies, but, in accordance with the still remaining French prejudices, he had tampered with these sublime compositions, changing them in some instances, bigotedly annotating them in others. Berlioz detected in the "proofs" these enormous crimes, as he considered them; he indignantly exposed them to the musical public, and the publisher had to erase them. In one of the pieces of his new concert he inserted a sarcasm on Fétis and his class of critics. Fétis was present, and the allusion was too direct and personal not to be detected by him and many other critics. There was an explosion of laughter at his expense, and henceforth he was the most relentless of Berlioz's antagonists. It seemed that the trials of the poor composer were never to end; but many of them were self-incurred, for, whatever we may say for him, on the old plea of the "artistic temperament," he was not only thus far, but all through his life, his own worst enemy. Had he possessed a modicum of the geniality and prudence of his friend Mendelssohn, he might have won his victories with half his conflicts; but he rushed on with headlong passion. He was a born Frenchman as well as a born musician.

He attempted another concert, encouraged by Alexander Dumas, Liszt, and other friends. The orchestra was a composite one again, mostly unpaid, and incompetent for his instrumentation. Liszt executed for him Weber's "Concert-Stuck" with "magnificent success;" but other performers failed, and slunk away one by one, till a totally inadequate number remained. The disappointed audience clamorously called for his famous "Marche au Supplice;" Berlioz, in his "consternation," cried out to them: "I cannot execute the Marche with five violins. It is not my fault. I confide in the public." The assembly dispersed and he was "red with shame and indignation." His enemies had now the odds of him, notably Fétis. The receipts only partially paid the debts of his wife;

and her uncanceled obligations imposed upon him, for years, cruel privations.

Like the heroes of the Old Guard, Berlioz never knew how to surrender. He immediately projected another demonstration—a concert at the Conservatory. He paid for an orchestra of the first order. Habeneck, his former leader, declined to risk again his reputation, but Gerard, one of his friends, offered his services. His "Symphonie Fantastique," formidable on other occasions, now triumphed, from beginning to end. The success of the concert was complete, and he was rehabilitated. At its close he observed, not without some anxious apprehensions, a strange-looking being gazing intently at him; his face was haggard, his hair long, his eyes piercing, his whole appearance spectral. He approached the young musician, barred his way, and, seizing his hand, overwhelmed him with "burning eulogies," which, he says, "fired my heart and head." It was Paganini, the prince of violinists for all the world, and, probably, for all time. The great artist could understand the genius of his struggling brother, and henceforth they were fast friends for life. Berlioz felt that now he could hold up his head more hopefully than ever; he was sanctioned by the best violinist and best pianist of Europe. Such an indorsement was decisive; his enemies might bark on to their hearts' content; Paganini and Liszt could outweigh a world of them. The famous violinist was soon to give him a still more affecting proof of his sympathy—one that shows what profound goodness may remain in the soul of a man of most wayward life and bizarre manners. He was suffering from that disease of the larynx which was, before long, to deprive him of speech and end his days, and was on his route to seek relief in the south; but, before departing, he put Berlioz on the way to his composition of the symphony of "Harold"—a reminiscence of his reading of Byron's "Childe Harold" in Italy. Its first performance was a failure, and a Parisian journal of music endeavored to crush him with invectives, beginning characteristically its criticism with the exclamation, "Ha! ha! ha!—haro! haro! Harold!" and he received an anonymous letter reminding him that he "might commit suicide but had not courage to blow out his own brains."

The government engaged him to write his "Requiem," in

commemoration of the victims of the Revolution of 1830. He wrote it rapidly, but the memory of Estelle gave him aid, for he had long before conceived its theme while reclining at the foot of a "charming acacia," in sight of the place of their first interview. "Where is she? where is she?" he exclaimed, as he proudly felt the music develop in his soul. He now knew that, if successful, it would be his most important victory; but never had his enemies attempted more nefarious intrigues to defeat him. Cherubini had hoped the government would have chosen one of his own funeral masses, and the chagrin of his disappointment sent him to bed with a fever. The hostile critics contrived to get Habeneck appointed leader for the occasion. Habeneck, as we have seen, had failed in leading for him at an important concert; he had ever since been among his enemies, and now designed to crush him. The celebration was in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides, and was attended by princes, ministers, peers, deputies, correspondents of the press, and a "vast crowd" of the people. Berlioz was tremulous with anxiety, for he felt that a failure, or even a mediocre performance, would be disastrous; he therefore placed himself near Habeneck to save the day if need be. At a critical moment he caught him in the very act of his treachery, and, leaping in front of him, and stretching out his arm, he led the musicians himself; they followed him faithfully, and the success of the "Requiem" was complete. Habeneck muttered an affected apology, acknowledging that "without you we would have been lost." "Thus failed," wrote Berlioz, "the cowardly and atrocious conspirators." The government gave him thirteen thousand francs, and the cross of the Legion of Honor. Some time later, at a concert given by a society in the city of Lille, and led by Habeneck himself, the "Lacrymosa" of this "Requiem" was performed with profound effect, and, in spite of its great length, was encored by the public with tears. Habeneck sought reconciliation with him, by writing, "Your 'Lacrymosa,' perfectly executed, has produced an immense sensation."

Berlioz was now appointed librarian of the Conservatory, a place which he long retained, though his opponents, in a time of absence, tried hard to wrest it from him, and would have succeeded had it not been for the intervention of Victor Hugo.

His "Benvenuto Cellini" was performed, but amidst outrages from his enemies which defeated it. Liszt afterward repeatedly gave it with applause before the *élite* society of Weimar, and Mayer, of Brunswick, published it, adapted to the voice and piano, in both the German and French texts. Though suffering severely in his health from this defeat, he exhibited again his "Harold." At its close the tall phantom-like figure of Paganini was seen kneeling by his side, amidst the musicians, and kissing his hand. The veteran violinist originally suggested to him this composition, as we have seen, but, being absent in Italy, he had never heard it; he was now too feeble to speak except in whispers in the ear of his little son, through whom he said that "in all his life he had never experienced, in a concert, an equal impression; that this music had overwhelmed him." The next day, while ill in his bed, Berlioz was saluted by the child of Paganini who brought a letter from his father, in which he said: "Beethoven being gone, no one could resuscitate him but Berlioz; I, who have felt the power of your genius, believe that I ought to beg you to accept, as an expression of my homage, twenty thousand francs." The letter inclosed a check on Rothschild for the munificent donation; and no remonstrance, no repayment, from Berlioz, was allowed by the great and generous master.

An affecting scene followed the reception of the letter. Berlioz had been as reckless in money matters as in most other things; for he was too absorbed in his musical ideals and combats to think of any thing else. He was now not only sick, but poor, and his family suffered from severe privations. His wife, on reading the letter, ran bewildered through the house crying for her child; and, leading him to the bed, they both knelt down and thanked God—"the mother," he writes, "praying; the boy, astonished, joining his little hands by her side. O Paganini! what a scene! would that he could have witnessed it!"

The incredible fact was soon known to the public. "Then came," adds Berlioz, "the comments, the denials, the lies, the furies of my enemies; the joyful transports, the triumphs of my friends; the letter that Jules Jannin wrote, and his magnificent article in the 'Journal des Debats;' the insults with which some wretches honored me; insinuations against Paga-

nini; the shock of twenty passions, good and evil." But his debts were now all swept away, and he had a considerable sum remaining; he could lay out his plans for the future.

At this beautiful climax (beautiful by the conduct of Paganini, at least) we might drop the pen, for has not its theme been fully enough illustrated? And does not the narrative sufficiently suggest, to all like strugglers, its own high lessons? But the striking story is not half told; and we remind ourselves of "Estelle," who, though out of sight and unheard of, was never forgotten by the struggling artist. We must, nevertheless, hasten over the remainder of his career—henceforth brilliantly successful, yet not without continued combats.

He wrote his "Romeo et Juliette," and three times it had "grand success" in concerts at the Conservatory. Paganini had gone to the south to die, and they were never to meet again; but they kept up a warm correspondence, and the violinist wrote him, after this last composition, "Now all is accomplished; envy can do no more; it is silenced." But he was too generously hopeful; few of Berlioz's productions were more harshly criticised. The government ordered from him a "Symphonie Funèbre" for a commemorative occasion, and paid him ten thousand francs for it; it was executed with enthusiastic applause in the Salle Vivienne, and Spontini wrote him a letter of commendation. He now projected foreign travels, determined to try his compositions before the musical world of Europe, except Italy, whose music he never much appreciated. He gave two concerts in Brussels and set all its critics by the ears, some for and some against him. He went to Germany, the best land in which to test his pretensions, and gave there fifteen concerts, with about fifty "repetitions." In passing he learned, at Mayence, that a regimental band had been giving his music with "prodigious effect." At Stuttgart he gave a concert, including some of his most difficult pieces, with success, the king and court being present and liberal in their felicitations, though some of the critics dissented. At Weimar they had already performed his "Francs Juges;" they now understood at once his difficult "Symphonie Fantastique." It was greeted with long applause and frequent encores, with compliments from the ducal family, and with "congratulations from new friends till three o'clock in the morning." At Leip-

sic he was welcomed by Mendelssohn, who heartily promoted his success. The published letters of the German master show that at Rome he had little sympathy with the Frenchman's musical notions; but this was before he had seen any of his compositions. He now did his utmost to help him, and the occasion was successful. It won him the friendship of Schumann, and a physician who attended him in an attack of illness refused his fee, demanding only his autograph, having "never," as he said, "been so much struck by music as by your 'Offertory.'" At Dresden some of the higher classes criticised the "Symphonie Fantastique," approving, nevertheless, parts of it; the audience applauded heartily, and the young Maitre de Chapelle, Richard Wagner, became his friend, for the time being, at least. At Brunswick he had a complete triumph; the audience was in a "fever" of excitement, and at the close burst forth with stormy acclamations, "shaking the hall," and joined by a fracas of all the instruments. Müler, the Maitre de Chapelle, advanced bearing flowers in "the name of the Ducal Chapel," and crowned with them his manuscript compositions. A hundred and fifty artists and amateurs of the city demanded his presence at a hotel, where they gave him an uproarious supper.

At Hamburg he had similar success. "It was one of the best of his concerts in Germany." At Berlin Meyerbeer helped him zealously, and his two concerts were triumphs, commanding warm interest on the part of the king and his court. He now returned rapidly to France, giving concerts at Hanover and Darmstadt, and recording his gratitude "for the reception he had received in Germany, for the warm sympathy of her musical artists, and the indulgence of her critics and her public." He had made a sufficient demonstration of his music, had won the suffrages of princes and their courts (generally good amateurs in Germany), of the cultivated German people, and, above all, of important masters; he had been tested, also, by serious difficulties and some hostile criticism. One of his critics there predicted that his music would become popular, and, spreading over Germany, would raise up imitators, and be thus a calamity." It has since spread, in spite of continuous hostility, over most of the musical world; but good music still survives.

On arriving in Paris, after the "most difficult musical pilgrimage ever perhaps undertaken," as he wrote, "and which was to affect the rest of his life," he projected, with the aid of Strauss, a concert at the Exposition, to be given at the close, and in honor of that great occasion. It was to be a gigantic demonstration—the grandest musical one ever made in the capital, with one thousand and twenty-two "executants," including five hundred instruments. It took place in the open court of the edifice, and was a magnificent success; parts of it "seemed accompanied with the *eclats* of thunder, and chanted by the tempests." Some of his own most difficult pieces were particularly successful. The audience was immense, and the receipts amounted to thirty-two thousand francs; but, after paying the expense of his large corps of musicians and an eighth of the sum to the hospitals, he had for himself but eight hundred francs. His labors on this occasion nearly cost his life; he was attacked by a fever, and had to go to the Mediterranean to recuperate.

On returning he went again to Germany—now to the south—to Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. He was successful at Vienna, where they gave him a public supper and a baton inscribed with the titles of his compositions, and the emperor sent him a donation; at Pesth, where they insisted on retaining some of his manuscript music, and whence a society of young Hungarians afterward sent him a silver crown; at Prague, where Liszt aided him, and, after a supper in his honor, presented him a silver cup in the name of the amateurs and critics of the city; at Breslau, where the people of the neighboring towns turned out in hosts to hear him, and his receipts were greater than in most of the German cities.

He returned to Paris, where he was soon again embarrassed with debts, and was unable for some time to begin a projected journey to Russia. His friend Bertin, of the "Journal des Debats," helped him with a thousand francs; Hetzel the noted publisher, a thousand, and other admirers five or six hundred each, and he departed for St. Petersburg, bearing a letter of introduction from the king of Prussia. He had hardly reached his hotel before his arrival was generally known in the higher circles of the capital, and he was immediately invited, by a music critic, to meet "all its musical authorities" in a *soirée*

at Count Wielharski's palace, where arrangements were made, by the government functionaries, for his first concert, its place assigned (the Hall of the Assembly of the Nobles), and its admission fee (nearly two and a half dollars) determined. In less than four hours after his arrival he found himself in *medias res*, for the German journals had spread his fame every-where. The concert was entirely successful: the immense hall crowded; "the applause, the cries for repetitions, enough to make him dizzy," and the receipts amounted to eighteen thousand francs. The empress had him brought to her *loge*, and gave him flattering attentions. His second concert was attended with equal results. At Moscow he had similar success. Returning to St. Petersburg, he was greeted with increased enthusiasm; and he gave two more concerts to crowded assemblies composed of princes, nobles, amateurs—the *élite* society of the city—"dazzling with costumes and diamonds." His orchestra and choir were large enough to meet the demands of his music. The *scherzetto* of his "Queen Mab" had been denounced by Parisian critics, who declared that "he did not understand Shakespeare;" it was now executed "marvelously." He was overwhelmed by his emotions at this success, and hastened to hide himself in a private room of the building, where Ernst, the violinist, found him weeping alone like a child.

We must remind the reader that while we have been rapidly, too rapidly, condensing the story, the years have been rapidly flying. Berlioz has long since passed the meridian of life, and has painful infirmities; he is "fatigued," he says; "consumed, and yet always burning, and still filled with an energy which sometimes even frightens me." He has been honored, not only with the badge of the Legion of Honor, but with the greater distinction of membership of the Institute. The place of Maitre de Chapelle at Dresden has been offered him, and the princes of Germany are urging him to continue his visits to their capitals; the Grand Duchesse Helene of Russia, on a visit to Paris, fairly forces him into an engagement to go again to St. Petersburg and give six concerts, his home there to be in her palace; one of her carriages to be at his command; his expenses both ways to be paid, and a liberal compensation guaranteed. He learns that his music is given in America, that New York receives his "Harold" with applause; an American

calls upon him to urge him to go thither, offering him a hundred thousand francs for concerts during six months, and, on his declining, the enthusiastic Yankee has a colossal bust of him made in bronze, to be carried to New York. The citizens, especially of his own country, are still belaboring him; but though he relishes the fight as heartily as ever Murat did a charge in battle, he longs for rest. He has married and buried a second wife; his son is away, on the seas, a naval officer; his mother has been dead some years; his old father has gone, also, and he projects a visit to Côte Saint-André to comfort his sisters, dreaming meanwhile of Estelle, and of romantic wanderings among the scenes of his first love. "My arteries beat faster," he says, "at this thought." He has recorded the poetic visit with the ardor of a young man. Every scene in the old localities overpowers him. "Thirty-three years," he writes, "have passed since I last visited them. I am as a man who has been dead since that period, but who comes to life again; and I find myself, in this resuscitation of all the sentiments of my anterior life, as young and as passionate as ever." He inquired of old peasants about Estelle; they remembered her as the maiden "so beautiful that every body stopped at the church door, on Sunday, to see her pass;" but none knew what had become of her; they only knew that her aunt still lived at Grenoble. "My palpitations redoubled," he says, as he wandered over the picturesque scenes so dear to his memory. At one of them a cry escaped him, "a cry which no language could translate; the past is present; I am a child again, twelve years old—life, beauty, first love, the infinite poem! I cast myself on my knees and exclaimed, 'Estelle, Estelle, Estelle!' An indescribable access of isolation came over me, and my heart bled." This was passion, the passion of a true poet, and few but poets can appreciate it. It is the old cry for sympathy and affection which suffering humanity has ever, and will forever, utter in this world of illusions. In this case it will, perhaps, be pronounced excessively juvenile; but is not genius forever young, young in heart however old in head? And did not Coleridge characterize it as childhood continued into manhood? Such a passion would have befitted Rousseau; and Berlioz was the Rousseau of music. He left these scenes, arresting himself "often with anguish" on the way, and ex-

claiming, "Adieu, mounts and valleys! adieu, my romantic childhood, last reflections of a pure love. The flood of time bears me away. Adieu, Estelle, Estelle!" But the next day he went to Grenoble to inquire further about her, and learned that she was now a widow, and lived in a distant town. He wrote her a pathetic letter, but received no response.

The old dream could not be dispelled. When more than sixty years of age he wrote: "My career is finished; I compose no more music; I direct no more concerts; I have ceased to be a journalistic critic; I do nothing but read and suffer." Yet he goes again to seek Estelle, and the old scenes at Meylen were revisited with the old emotions. Reclining on the earth with the beautiful valley extending before him, he murmured: "Estelle, Estelle! The past, the past! Never, never again!" But he learned, later in the day, that she still lived, and on the same evening he arrived at Lyons and discovered her home there. After a sleepless night he wrote her a letter, alluding to his early affection and his repeated visits to Meylen, and beseeching her to allow him to call on her. "I shall control my feelings," he assured her; "fear not the emotions of a heart which has experienced the pitiless realities of life. Accord me a few minutes; allow me to see you again, I conjure you." Apprehending an unfavorable answer, he carried the letter himself to her door. His card accompanied it, and before reading the letter she admitted him. He beheld again, after about half a century, his idol. Her hair was gray, and she was otherwise much changed, "but, on seeing her, my soul," he says, "flew toward her, as if she were yet in the splendor of her beauty." In a long conversation she treated him with "sweet," matronly dignity, but with womanly tenderness. She had never forgotten him, but had read accounts of his remarkable career, and had received "details of it" from one of his friends. Her life, she said, "had been very simple and very sad," for she had early lost children and her husband; she was "deeply affected and grateful" for the sentiments that Berlioz had so long maintained for her. With a "melting heart" and "trembling" frame he kissed her hand, and begged her to allow him to write her from time to time, and to visit her at least once a year. He saw her again the same day for a moment, but on the next she had departed for the country.

On his return to Paris he began a correspondence with her, which, with occasional visits, consoled the remainder of his life. He published some of its letters—his full of passion, hers full of good sense and sympathy. Their renewed friendship ameliorated his heart after the irritations of his long warfare, and he closes the record of it with the words: "Stella, Stella, I can now die without bitterness and without wrath." "Which of the two powers," he asks at another time, "can most elevate man to the sublimest heights—love or music? It is a problem; nevertheless we may say that love can give no idea of music, but music can give one of love. Wherefore, then, separate them? They are the two wings of the soul." Had it been possible for Estelle to have controlled, more intimately, his life, it might have been a better one. He lacked balance; he had no moral symmetry; no moral self-support; no repose, like that which the classic ancients attributed to high character, and classic art impressed upon the statues and busts of great men. Like most intellectual Frenchmen he abandoned the faith of his childhood, and knew no substitute for it; his views of life were cynical, and the agitations of his career, and especially the hostility of his critics, had impaired his health, and in his last years he suffered from chronic neuralgia, which "tortured him night and day" and exasperated his temper. But with all his faults, in both life and art, he was a genuine hero, a genuine poet, and, as the world now admits, a genuine musician—a "grand master of vast conceptions," as Gounod has pronounced him.

On the 6th of March, 1869, his hard-fought "battle of life" ended in a tranquil death. The leading journal of Paris ("Journal des Debats") reminded France that "one of her great sons" had departed, one whose "work had been immense," whose "name posterity will inscribe among the names of the greatest masters, the Beethoven of France." He rests in the cemetery of Mont Martre, amidst the tombs of Ary Scheffer, Gautier, Halévy, Offenbach, Heine, and the many other illustrious men who sleep there in peace after the storms of life.

Art. III.—THE HINDU PANTHEON.

On the other side of the earth, upon a vast plain two thousand miles long and nineteen hundred miles wide, live one hundred and sixty-three millions of our relations, from whom our fathers parted thousands of years ago, to "go west" and seek their fortune. More favored than the stay-at-homes, the emigrants have in some respects succeeded better, and so, not unmindful of our common origin, or the rapidly being fulfilled prophecy, "I will enlarge the borders of Japheth," we of the Occident go back now to tell our kindred how we have gotten on in the world, and to give a reason for the hope that is within us. And while we try to enlist their interest in ourselves, and especially in our religion and Redeemer, it behooves us to learn something of their thoughts concerning God and religion, in order that we may the better know how to induce them to "come to a knowledge of the truth," and accept that which has proved so beneficial to us in our western home.

But in order to gain correct knowledge of the wonderful faith of the Hindus we must go back to its source. To the Hindu mind the classic Vedas are the fountain of all knowledge. They are certainly among the most ancient religious, if not the oldest literary, productions in the world, some of them having been composed one thousand four hundred years before the True Incarnation. Before the exodus from Egypt, and while Job was sojourning upon the plains of Arabia, five hundred years before Homer, and a thousand years before Confucius and Solon, devout Aryans chanted their sacred *mantras*, and their untutored minds saw God in clouds and heard him in the wind. The very name of their most ancient records suggests our kinship, as seen in Veda, *οἶδα*, *videre*, wit, *wisdom*, while the root of the word, that is, *vid*, means "to know," and the word itself "knowledge," and that, too, given orally. These books are considered the direct communication of the Supreme Being with man, and so sacred that as early as seven hundred years before Christ it was deemed a grave offense for a single word of the Vedas to be heard, much less read, by a person of low caste. There are four of these sacred books, namely, the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and

the Atharva-Veda. The Rig-Veda is the oldest, and derives its name from the style of the composition and the manner of its recitation, *Rich* meaning praise, and the work is in meter, and designed to be chanted in a loud voice. Each Veda is divided into two parts: a Sanhita, or collection of *mantras*, or hymns; and a Bráhmana, or ritualistic precept and illustration. Attached to each Bráhmana is a Upanishad, containing mystical doctrine. The first two are for all men, but the latter two for only the more philosophical. These four Vedas mark the first stage in the development of Hindu mythology.

But these are but a small part of the sacred books of that wonderful people. There are other books which have more to do with the present belief of the people than the Rig-Veda, and furnish nearly all the gods of the present Hindu pantheon. There are six philosophical books called Shasters, two great epics—the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata—and eighteen Puránas, or "old traditional stories." The two epics were originally written about five hundred years before Christ, but were frequently revised afterward. The first of these, the Rámáyana, relates the story of Rám Chandra, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, in his conquest of Lanka, or Ceylon, and overthrow of the tyrant Rávan. It is believed to have been written by the human but inspired author Válmíki, and consists of twenty-four thousand stanzas arranged in seven books. The Mahábhárata is the largest epic poem ever written, consisting of two hundred and twenty thousand lines, divided into eighteen sections. It is a sacred history, or rather an encyclopedia of traditions, legends, ethics, and philosophy. The Hindus say of both these books that "he who reads and repeats them is liberated from all sins, and exalted, with all his posterity, to the highest heaven." The Puránas, eighteen in number, while the last written, being composed not earlier than the sixth century after Christ, are for us the most important, as they give an account of the Hindu pantheon as it exists to-day. These books were written for the purpose of exalting one or another of the numerous manifestations of Brahma. They consist of no less than one million six hundred thousand lines. The whole of these sacred books combined—the four Vedas, the six Shasters, the Rámáyana, the Mahábhárata, and the eighteen Puránas—form no small body of divinity. It is safe to say

that no Hindu has ever read the one fiftieth part of the books he calls inspired.

These books, then—all written in the ancient and stately but now (except by the few) unspoken Sanskrit language, a language not unworthy of being considered "the language of the gods"—constitute the chief source from which to draw correct knowledge of what the Hindu pantheon was in the ages past, is now, and will most likely result in, if left to itself.

And first, as to what it was. The Hindus were not always Hindus. Once upon a time they abode with our fathers and the Persians somewhere in Central Asia, probably in the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus, near Bokhara; they then migrated with their Persian brethren into what is now Persia. The fathers of the Hindus separated from them, as we originally had parted from both, and going eastward, settled down as agriculturists in the rich country of the Punjab—the land of the five waters—and commenced their career in India nearly two thousand years before Christ. In those days they were not idolaters. They worshiped their thirty-three gods, but they were spiritual deities of air, earth, and sky. "They worshiped those physical forces before which all nations, if guided solely by the light of nature, have in the early period of their life instinctively bowed down, and before which even the more civilized and enlightened have always been compelled to bend in awe and reverence, if not in adoration. Their religion was what may be called in one word, *physiolatry*." Dyans (Heaven), Prithivi (Earth), Agni (Fire), Surya (Sun), Ushas (Dawn), Indra (Rain), Soma (deified juice of a plant), were among the leading Vedic deities. There were the Storm deities, as Indra, Indráni, Parjanya, Váyn, etc., and the Light deities, as Surya, Pushan, Mitra, Varuna, Ushas, etc. Indra represented the eleven gods of the air, Agni the eleven gods of the earth, and Surya the eleven gods of the sky, and these became chief by desire and constant sacrifice. The following description of Agni, or the god of Fire, is given:

"Bright, seven-rayed god, how manifold thy shapes
Revealed to us, thy votaries: now we see thee
With body all of gold, and radiant hair
Flaming from three terrific heads, and mouths
Whose burning jaws and teeth devour all things.

Now with a thousand glowing horns, and now
Flashing thy luster from a thousand eyes,
Thou'rt borne toward us in a golden chariot,
Impelled by winds, and drawn by ruddy steeds,
Marking thy car's destructive course with blackness."

But while three or four gods took a leading place in the Vedic pantheon, it should be remembered here, as throughout the whole system of Hindu mythology, that each of the gods for the time being in the mind of the devout worshiper was considered superior to all others, and, as Max Müller remarks: "It would be easy to find in the numerous hymns of the Rig-Veda passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute." It might be interesting to remark concerning some of the other gods and goddesses that Dyans (Heaven) and Prithivi (Earth) are considered the most ancient, hence the parents of the other deities. Ushas (Dawn), the daughter of the Sky, the sister of Night, and the wife of the Sun, was a fair goddess to whom is addressed the most beautiful of the Vedic hymns:

"Hail, ruddy Ushas, golden goddess, borne
Upon thy shining car, thou comest like
A lovely maiden by her mother decked,
Disclosing coyly all thy hidden grace
To our admiring eyes. . . .
Through years and years thou hast lived on, and yet
Thou'rt ever young. Thou art the breath and life
Of all that breathe and live, awaking, day by day,
Myriads of prostrate sleepers as from death,
Causing the birds to flutter in their nests,
And rousing men to ply with busy feet
Their daily duties and appointed tasks,
Toiling for wealth, or pleasure, or renown."

Let us now turn from the Vedic deities to those described in the sacred books of later times. We have seen that in early times there were numerous deities regarded as omniscient and omnipotent who ruled on earth, in air, and sky. In course of time one supreme, all-pervading deity, Brahma, was considered the essence and source of all the rest, and that all visible form emanated from him. In the Vedas such a being was almost unknown. As Monier Williams says: "Only a few hymns of the Vedas appear to contain the simple conception of one divine, self-existent, omnipresent being; and even in these the

idea of one god present in all nature is somewhat nebulous and undefined." It is in the Puránas that the Hindu finds his monotheistic belief. The Vishnu Purána defines Brahma as "abstract pure spirit;" the name is derived from the root *Brih*, "to expand," and, as Wilkins says, denotes "the universally expanding essence, or universally diffused substance of the universe." The Vishnu Purána contains the following hymn of praise to Brahma:

> Glory to Brahma, who alike in the destruction and renovation of the world is called the great and mysterious cause of the intellectual principle; who is without limit in time and space, and exempt from diminution and decay. He is the invisible, imperishable Brahma, varying in form, invariable in substance; the chief principle; self-engendered; who is said to illuminate the caverns of the heart; who is indivisible, radiant, undecaying, multiform. To that supreme Brahma be forever adoration.

Of this supreme god Brahma there are three manifestations, forming what is called the Hindu Triad. Brahmá appears as the god of creation, Vishnu as the god of preservation, and Shiva as the god of destruction. Be it remembered that Brahmá, Vishnu, and Shiva are only Brahma manifesting himself in a threefold manner, and that their functions are constantly interchangeable, as one of the great Indian poets (Kalidása) has said:

> "In these three Persons the one God was shown—
> Each first in place, each last—not one alone:
> Of Shiva, Vishnu, Brahmá, each may be
> First, second, third, among the blessed three."

Manu's account of Brahmá's creation is as follows: "Brahma desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. This (seed) became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmá, the progenitor of all worlds. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought." Other accounts state that he issued from a lotus that sprung from the navel of Vishnu. Brahma, being born, by meditation, commenced the work of creation, his first act being the rescuing of the world, which he found sunk beneath the waters, by assuming the form of a boar and raising it upon his tusks. He is represented as a four-

headed red man, dressed in white clothing and riding upon a goose, and carrying a staff in one hand and a dish for gathering alms in the other. Brahmá is not now largely worshiped in India, there being in the whole land but one temple dedicated to him. Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu Triad, is said to have been produced from the left side of Brahma, and his appearance is thus described:

A black man with four arms; in one hand he holds a club, in another a shell, in a third a discus with which he slew his enemies, and in the fourth a lotus. He rides upon the bird Garuda, and is dressed in yellow robes.

In the Varahar Purána, the work for the accomplishment of which Vishnu was manifested is stated as follows:

The supreme god Náráyana (Brahmá), having conceived the thought of creating the universe, considered also that it was necessary that it should be protected after it was created; "but as it is impossible for an incorporeal being to exert action, let me produce from my own essence a corporeal being, by means of whom I may protect the world." Having thus reflected, the pre-existing Náráyana created from his own substance an ungenerated and divine form, on whom he bestowed these blessings: "Be thou the framer of all things, O Vishnu! Be thou always the protector of the three worlds, and the adored of all men. Be thou omniscient and almighty; and do thou at all times accomplish the wishes of Brahmá and the gods." The supreme spirit then assumed his essential nature. Vishnu, as he meditated on the purpose for which he had been produced, sunk into a mysterious slumber; and as in his sleep he imagined the production of various things a lotus sprang from his navel. In the center of this lotus Brahmá appeared; and Vishnu, beholding the production of his body, was delighted.

There is no god worshiped in India so universally as Vishnu, and in his praise we find the largest literature.

But it is in his various incarnations that he is the best known. There are ten of these, nine of which have already taken place, and one is yet to come. Strange to say, these various incarnations were not undertaken voluntarily, but were the result of the curse of the angry sage, Bhrigu, who condemned him to ten mortal births. Four of these were in the shape of lower animals, namely, Varáhar (Boar), Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Tortoise), and Nrisingha (Man-lion). Then there were the Vamána (Dwarf), Parasuráma (Rama, with ax), Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and

Buddha incarnations, and lastly will be born, at Sambhal, in the Morádábód district, the Kalki or "sinless" incarnation. The two leading incarnations are Krishna and Ráma Chandra. Krishna is the "black or dark one," and is the impersonation of one of Vishnu's black hairs, which he cast down to earth when asked to become incarnate. In the eyes of Hindus, Ráma Chandra's character is revealed in the lines addressed to him by the saint Visvamitra on the banks of the Sarju:

> "None in the world with thee shall vie,
> O sinless one, in apt reply,
> In knowledge, fortune, wit, and tact,
> Wisdom to plan, and skill to act."

It may be said of the incarnations generally, that they came more as gods of terror and destruction than for purposes of benevolence and blessing. Vishnu took the form of a fish, not only to preserve Manu, the progenitor of the human race, from a deluge, but to destroy the demon Hayagriva, who had stolen the Vedas from Brahmá when asleep. When the gods were in danger of losing their authority over the demons, Vishnu appeared as a tortoise in a sea of milk which was to be churned for ambrosia, and the demons seeking to drink were forthwith scorched. To slay Hiranyakasipu, Vishnu descended in the form of a creature, Nrisingha, half-man and half-lion. The Parasuráma incarnation took place to destroy the Kshattriya, or warrior caste. Ráma Chandra's great work was the slaying of Rávan, of Ceylon. Krishna came to destroy Kansa. Vishnu became incarnate, under the name of Buddha, for the purpose of destroying the enemies of the gods.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Hindus look forward to the coming of a tenth and last—the "sinless"—incarnation at the expiration of this "Evil Age" (Kali Yuga), who shall be born of a virgin in a humble town (Sambhal), and he shall inaugurate the "Age of Purity" (Kritá Yuga), and establish righteousness upon the earth, and destroy all out castes. He is represented as a white man on a white horse, with a drawn sword. How often has the missionary in the crowded bazar, before a mass of upturned faces, used this illustration to proclaim the Gospel that the "Sinless Incarnation" has already been "born of a virgin" in Bethlehem of Judea, and that he alone can establish the "Age of Purity" in the hearts of his people!

Shiva, the third person of the Hindu trinity, is the god of destruction. He is really the latest development of Hinduism, and is the natural result of its religious system. His name does not appear in the Vedas, although, in order to establish his reputation, he is declared to be the Rudra of the Vedas. It must not be supposed that because this deity is called the god of destruction that he is so according to our definition of the term, for in the Hindu mind death is only change into a new form of life, hence the destroyer is the re-creator. His name, Shiva—"the bright or happy one"—is indicative of this thought. But, at the same time, this change of existence is through a horrible process which marks this phase of Hinduism as full of bloody scenes and dark, fierce passions. The home of Shiva was at Kailasa, in the Himalaya Mountains, and his favorite city, Benares, on the Ganges. "Shiva," says Monier Williams, "is represented in a human form, living in the Himalayas along with Parvati, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing round his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and furnished with a whole apparatus of external emblems, such as a white bull, on which he rides, a trident, tiger's skin, elephant's skin, rattle, noose, etc. He has three eyes, one being in his forehead, in allusion either to the three Vedas, or time past, present, or future. He has a crescent on his forehead, the moon having been given him as his share of the products of the churning of the ocean." Though it is true that Shiva is represented in human form, the most common form under which he is worshiped is that of the Luiga, or male and female reproductive organs. The usual name given to Shiva is Mahádeva, the great god. He is represented as having a great fondness for the bull upon which he rode; hence an image of this animal, called Nandi, can be seen in front of many shrines sacred to him, and on the death of one of his followers a bull is turned loose, after the manner of the scapegoat of the Israelites.

It is worthy of notice that all the leading gods of the Hindus had their consorts, or female counterparts. Thus the wife of Indra was Indráni, called also Sachi; Brahma's wife was Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and science, the mother of the Vedas, and the inventor of the Devanágari letters; the wife of Vishnu was Lukhohmi, or Shri; Shiva's wife, the most noted

of all, was known by various names, among which were Umá, Parvati, and especially Durgá. Durgá was a blood-thirsty goddess, and the embodiment of all other goddesses. Monier Williams observes, "that, just as the male god Shiva gathered under his own personality the attributes and functions of all the principal gods, and became the "great god" (Mahádeva)—that is, the most lofty and severe god of the Hindu pantheon—so his female counterpart became "the one great goddess" (devi, mahádevi), who required more propitiation than any other goddess, and to a certain extent, all other female manifestations of the Tri-múrti, and absorbed all their functions." She has a twofold nature—an *Asita*, white or mild, and a *Sita*, black or fierce, nature. In her mild nature she is known as Umá, Gaurí, Lakhshurí, Sarasvatí, etc., and in her fierce as Durgá, Kálí, etc. As Kálí she is worshiped throughout India to-day. She gives her name to the capital of the empire. Thieves, murderers, and highway robbers worship at her shrine. She delights in blood, and it is said that the blood of a man will appease her for a thousand, and the blood of three men for a million of years.

The deities were also blessed with children. Ganesh, the grotesque, elephant-headed god of wisdom, was the elder son of Shiva and Parvati, and Kartikeya, the god of war, was the younger. Besides these, there were a number of inferior deities and semi-deities, which go to fill up the Hindu pantheon. Such are Hanúnián, the monkey-god, who rendered such valiant service to Ráma Chandra, and Ganga, the deified Ganges, etc., while Jagaunáth, "the Lord of the World," is supposed to have been the local deity of some now unknown tribe whose worship was ingrafted into Hinduism, and finally was regarded as another manifestation of Vishnu.

India is surfeited with gods. Through monotheism, pantheism, dualism, and polytheism, the tendency is to the most degrading fetichism. The people are intensely religious, and they must have a religion which will stir their souls to the depths. This neither Vedantism, theosophy, nor Brahmaism can do. True spiritual emancipation and development can only take place when the True Incarnation, Jesus Christ, shall supersede Ráma Chandra, Krishna, and Mahádeva.

Art. IV.—CHRIST'S EDUCATION OF HIS BODY.

It is the purpose of this article to show that the Lord Jesus gave his human body a specific discipline for his work as our Redeemer. Of necessity, portions of the essay will be somewhat speculative, but it is hoped that the speculations will be within the bounds of Scripture license. The tendency of revelation is to create thinkers as well as to supply food for thought. Christ hinted many things which he never fully taught; so did the apostles, notably St. Paul, who was always in advance of the topic under consideration. Hints, therefore, have great uses.

The fact of this discipline must be assumed in order to explain his office as the Redeemer of mankind, for it cannot be doubted that Christ's body was an essential factor in the scheme of salvation. It had its sphere of activity and service. Within that sphere lay duties and tasks, burdens and sufferings, to which his body had to *grow*, not only in outward development, but likewise in an internal accommodation. Passing through infancy, childhood, youth, early manhood, and thence to mature manhood, the co-education of mental and physical life would go forward together, so that there could be no prematureness. This must be taken into account, for of all influences that disturb normal growth, the greatest is the undue concentration of vital force in one or another faculty of mind or function of body, by which the relativity of energies is interrupted. Symmetry is the law beneath all laws. And, hence, if Christ's consciousness as the Son of God had enlarged in an exclusive sense, we may suppose that the nervous functions expanded, in a like degree, to support, vivify, and express this consciousness. And again, if perception, memory, imagination, reflectiveness advanced, step by step, to their utmost earthly limits, the corresponding agency of the corporeal man would not, at any moment, fall behind in its progress. The law of nature is, that each period of existence shall afford a double basis for its successor, a *material* no less than a *mental* basis, and that these two shall harmonize more and more as years increase, until their sympathy, the one with the other, is as complete as human conditions allow. This law would pre-eminently appear in

Christ, who was quite as typical or representative in physical qualities and habits as in the intellectual and spiritual.

When it is said, "A body hast thou prepared me" (Heb. x, 5–7), or, as Macknight renders it, "Thou hast made me thy obedient servant," more is meant than a contrast with "burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin." It is added: "Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) *to do thy will, O God.*" Obedience is the prominent idea, and what scope and significance it has! Think of the nature and extent of this obedience; the conception set forth in its ideal, for the first time in the annals of humanity made not only visible but resplendently visible; the perfect obedience of a human body to a perfectly obedient human soul. You may go further. The human nature, constituted of soul and body, has its relations to the divine nature, and the two are always in entire accord, nor is there a break, nor even a jar, in the harmony of their co-activity in this one Person, distinctively Son of man, and as distinctively Son of God. Here is discipline in the highest and rarest form conceivable, since we have not merely the ideal union of the human soul and body, but that also in a divine union of two natures in a single personality. If, now, the Lord Jesus was to "magnify the law and make it honorable;" if he was to secure a new moral force for that law, and give it a new spiritual grandeur by uniting love with authority, and blending grace with sovereignty; and if this sublime task rested upon him from the carpenter shop in Nazareth to the struggle in the garden and the agony on the cross, we must remember that the training of the body had its place among the constituents of this obedience. Precisely here, the unity of his reverence for law in every form—law in matter, law in mind—makes its profoundest impression; and the glory of Christ as the subject of law, is vividly seen as the counterpart of Christ as the sovereign over law.

First, then, consider the connection of this discipline with the eighteen years of his seclusion at Nazareth after his visit to the temple. At first sight, it would seem that this privacy until he was thirty years old bore chiefly on his domestic character along with his intellectual and moral qualities. Yet there must have been a very marked effect on his physical (psychical?) nature in the insulating circumstances that surrounded

him. No one claimed to have taught him any thing, and all admitted that his life at Nazareth, from the outset to his public ministry, had been unique. Public training for public work he certainly had not. But that lonely Nazareth was to him a world of its own—lonely, indeed, since his supreme companionship was the infinite secret which lay in his heart. The consciousness of a divine work grew as he grew "in favor with God and man," never anticipating his years, and never other than perfect, in so far as childhood, youth, and early manhood allowed perfection. The influence of this anomalous isolation, growing out of his consciousness of the "Father's business," must have acted powerfully on his nervous system, since the sublime mystery which enveloped his own mind, and the stern demand it made on patience, self-possession, and habitual reticence, must have laid a burden on his nervous system that we are quite incompetent to imagine. If we may speak of the purity of pain, he must have undergone it through these long and tedious eighteen years. Powers asserting their presence and yet unused; capacities opening into wider realms; vistas rising beyond vistas; the sense of wonder purifying itself from vain curiosity, and all its lower and eager functions; this extreme waiting, and preparing, and holding himself in resolute abeyance, and in subjection to his Father's will—this verily was the initial process in "learning obedience" and becoming "perfect through sufferings." By means of such an experience, protracted beyond ordinary limits and intensified by exceptional conditions, he must have realized that peculiar suffering which we have ventured to designate as the "purity of pain." One may conceive of it as the product of thought in its loftiest activity. Healthy organs of body; life itself in the prime of natural strength and gladness; instincts fresh; and yet "suffering" by reason of the reflexes of sublimity in sentiment and emotion on the physical system. Now, this may be viewed as the most educative form of pain in respect to our corporeal organization, because it would instinctively tend to bring the functions of nerves and brain to the support of mind as non-related to the common modes of suffering. Where pain has its seat in the material structure, much of its moral benefit is lost by reason of resisting forces. But in the case of Christ, the law of self-denial and rigid self-government,

of profound silence, of isolated self-communion as the future unfolded its meanings, would be specialized in his own personality, and the result would be an undivided subserviency of the physical to the spiritual.

When a certain ideal has fully possessed the mind of a young man, nothing disputes its place or offers it any rivalry. Still, though engrossing the field of vision, it is distant, so that years must elapse before it can be realized. By day, it recurs in unchallenged mastery over his intellect; by night, it shapes his dreams; but he cannot speak of it, for its very delicacy forbids utterance. Only brooding is possible. Brood he must, since introspection alone offers a resource when communication is externally denied. He must abide in silence, till Time, the supreme worker, fulfills his task. The ideal has now been gained, but that is not all. Far greater than achieving the purposed end may be the value of the discipline in this protracted schooling to patience. And in this schooling is included much more than the mere intellect, the emotions, or the volition, since these are worth little or nothing till they assume their psychical forms in a corresponding development of nervous function. To be of any avail, the co-activity of the nerves must be habituated to their offices, and thus establish themselves in reciprocal association with the mental faculties. Now, this work of mutuality can only go on in calmness, the law of nature being, that in the ratio of tranquillized action is the attainment of permanence of habit in our constitution. There must be time as well as serenity. Eagerness, impulse, restless longing, are nervous conditions, no less than mental states; and, as the sense of time is organized in the nervous system, its demands have to be met. If this view be correct, the general idea may be formulated in some such language as this: *Restraint*, if wisely exercised to postpone the gratification of a present desire and the fulfillment of a more distant purpose, is *an education of the nervous system in subordination to the interests of mind.*

The argument proceeds on the idea that all education, and especially all higher education, is an equable development of soul and body so far as their existing relations permit this co-ordination. In brief, it is the education of human natures as formed by the union of mind and matter ordained of God

to come nearer together and work in closer harmony as we number our days and apply our hearts unto wisdom. The nerves are rebels against goodness whenever goodness imposes severe restrictions on their instincts; and, if this be rightly considered, we may see a deeper meaning in the words, "The *carnal* mind is enmity against God," and find new comfort in the fact that "he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust." And hence, when we think of Christ spending eighteen years in self-imposed solitude at Nazareth, we have natural law to warrant our belief that this discipline was physical as well as spiritual. "*Improved by tract of time*," says Milton; and the language has a deep philosophic import. Moderation, abstinence from premature satisfaction, the stimulation of desire coincidently with the delay of its pleasures, and the habituation of one's self to future and distant aims, are necessary steps in that providential culture, which proposes even now to regenerate, in part, the physical system as the redeemed ally of the soul. In part, we say, "for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body" is residuary. If, then, Christ was "made under the law" of Providence no less than "under law" in its specific sense, we may readily believe that he acquired the discipline of experience and practical skill, whereby he was enabled to adjust himself to those rapid alternations of circumstances that were so frequent and so extreme in his career. Vicissitudes are trials to nerves as well as to principles, and these (humanly speaking) were often hazardous in Christ's history. "Holy, harmless, undefiled," it is added that he was "separate from sinners," and again, that he was "made higher than the heavens." Heb. vii, 26. It does not appear how he needed the training of experience to add any thing to his *nature*, but it is plain enough how he needed this culture for his *character* and its formulated expression, in such various modes, before the world. Discipline is not predicable of abstract nature, but of nature historically manifested in character. Discipline never creates. It organizes capacity into ability. The soldier exists potentially in the man; military discipline takes hold of whatever in the man is suited to its purpose and fashions it into the soldier. It converts the raw material of capacity into the woven texture of ability.

Take a typical case of this physico-spiritual discipline in

Christ's career, namely, the temptation in the wilderness. Fresh from the baptismal waters of the Jordan, he was "led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." No sooner had the Messianic inauguration occurred than he was subjected to a series of Messianic tests—not one, but three, and the three covering the ground of preliminary Messianic life, until he came to the final trial in Gethsemane and on the cross. Reverently we may call this his *divine novitiate*. Forty days he ate no food. Forty days he confronted nature in her most repulsive aspects, so that her ministrations of beauty and gladness to the senses, and, through them, her calm and soothing accesses to the soul, were altogether denied him. Forty days he was "with the wild beasts," their presence symbolizing entire separation from all human association; but, in addition, the entire lack of those sympathetic aids which Providence in material objects offers so secretly and tenderly to the tried and tempted spirit. An exile he is from the ways of men and the universe, a "*solitaire*" in a world never before or since occupied. Forty days his body was denied its usual gratifications, and "he was afterward a-hungered." The needs of the body come instantly upon him. "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." The physical man was foremost in the scheme of Satanic temptation, as it was in the garden of Eden, and as it frequently is in our severest hours of probation. Jesus rests on his humanity: "man shall not live by bread alone;" and in that critical moment, as man he will win the victory. Although under excessive prostration, the body bore the shock; it did not falter, the instinctive pleading for food was held in firm check, the resistance was prompt, decided, complete. Observe now the stored-up discipline. The struggle came on soon after he left Nazareth; and hence the basis of this perfection in bodily control must have been acquired in those memorable eighteen years. No doubt, accessions to his Messianic power were made at the Jordan; and yet, consistently with this view, one may suppose that the protracted training at Nazareth, the simultaneous preparation of mind and body for his redeeming work, emerged in this notable form of actuality during the pendency of the temptation in the wilderness.

Probably we do not see every thing involved in our Lord's peculiar methods of self-development. That they were exceptionally self-methods, intense, profound, and exhaustive of possibilities, can scarcely be doubted. Only the results appear. Although this biography of eighteen years—the years when thought was dealing with its perplexities, and trust was maturing into a conscious assurance beyond the invasion of subtle doubt and timid apprehension—the years summed up by St. Luke in the words, "And Jesus increased in wisdom," etc., yet the biography is virtually written for us in this scene of the temptation and the sequel of the next three years. What is germane to the present argument is the fact, that Christ appears on the arena of public action as a man educated for his office as the anointed of God, and ready from the outset for the exigencies of that office, as the demands thereof grew upon him in their successional order. Here the issues of temptation leave us no room for doubt as to the fullness of the basic development, namely, the complete subordination of the body to the mind; its appetites and passions, its instincts, its automatic functions, brought into obedience to the higher and nobler nature, and sharing the sanctity and glory of that higher and nobler nature. Is it not an *ideal* body in the sense that it did not interfere, even in the slightest degree, with his will and purpose as the Christ of the Father? Physical habits help us by what they exclude and by what they include. Consider what they include. Naturally enough, this is the initial mode of their activity; and, accordingly, while it can hardly be said that Christ's enfeebled physical condition gave him support in the temptation, it certainly evinced itself in a negative or indirect way. Precisely here, the logic of physiological law is met. Support it could not give, for it was a worn-down body after a fast of forty days, with every attendant circumstance unfriendly, nay, adverse, to resiliency of action. Nevertheless, obstruction and counteraction this same body did avoid, and it laid placidly quiescent beneath the ascendency of his holy will. And precisely here, its accord with the Nazareth education manifests itself, since that, to all intents and purposes, was a passive discipline. So that he himself, until reaching thirty years of age, was the sphere of his own ministry, before he became the Anointed to the world. On himself, the might of

his arm and the grandeur of his wisdom were expended in fitting himself, body and spirit, for his infinite vocation. Body and spirit, I repeat, for this was his twofold preparation; the first pupil of the Great Teacher was himself. Just now we will lay the emphasis on *body*. For, if he was to "take our infirmities and bear our sicknesses," and if so much of his ministry was to be a ministry to the human body, could there be a more striking illustration of the congruity between his earlier and later life than this personal schooling of himself for thirty years, in order that by "learning obedience" and becoming "perfect through sufferings," he might be the Sent of God, the Minister of friendship, philanthropy, and grace, the divine Healer of bodies and souls?

Viewed in this light, the obscure mechanic, Jesus of Nazareth, stands before us in a most interesting light, as one long girding himself for the battle in behalf of humanity. Human history has no such table of contents; only, indeed, two chapters, one private, the other public. Likely enough, inventive art would have reversed the order, and the three years would have been the antecedent and the thirty the subsequent. And yet, looking for the Ideal Man, how naturally this arrangement secures our instant vindication! On grounds of physiology and psychology, the argument seems worthy of more consideration than it has received. Probably, we are more in the dark on *nerve-culture* than on any other branch of education; and if we are even now in this state of ignorance, how happens it that our science may find, at least, very suggestive hints as to Christ's unique mode of personal education, nineteen centuries ago, in an obscure province of Palestine? "*Good*" has come out of Nazareth, and much "*good*" in ways most unexpected. Here stands One against the background of the old centuries as they culminate at the advent; and not only so, here is One who by methods very unlooked for anticipates all our researches and has penetrated the *arcana* of nature, no less than the secrets of God's counsels, in behalf of the soul's immortal well-being. What a mystery lies open to our eyes! We are familiar with the fact that our higher education often fails because of the imperfectness of the lower education. The alphabet was wrongly taught and the error travels on to later life and vitiates the mind. Most of men's failures are mistakes fallen into

in their apprenticeships. But in the instance of the Nazarene, how plainly we discern the value of long experience and practice in self-management for the arming and fortifying of the mature man against the inroads of evil! This private Christ is verily sublime! The miracle of all his miracles is, that this hidden efflorescence, as much a secret in Nazareth as in Jerusalem, should have so ripened in three years that he could say, "It is finished."

Farther on in his career one can mark the positive side of this acquired wonderful union of mind and body in his office, as we have seen its negative aspect in the temptation. Acquired it was because attained by effort. One may trace the composed vigor of action, the immediateness of efficiency, the instantaneous command of the reserved forces of his nature, the sudden concentration of himself on a critical issue sprung unawares on him, and all these without a recorded interruption because of over-exertion or sickness. Weariness at the well of Sychar is mentioned, but he is not too weary to do a great work. Reaction from exalted moods is unknown. Did the Seventy return to him exultant after their first missionary tour? Sharing their joy when they declare that even the devils were subject unto them through his name, he responds, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," while the calm sublimity of his soul tells them not to "rejoice" in their power over the spirits, but rather that their "names are written in heaven." Luke x, 17–20. Immediately thereafter, he resumes his labors among the suffering, and, amid the jubilee of the hour, bends all his powers to the routine of humble duty; and when he descends from the Mount of Transfiguration, the splendor scarcely faded from his person, it is to cure a lunatic boy. Outward contrast was vivid in this marvelous transition from the summit of the Mount to its base, but the recent glory did not unfit him, in any degree, for his work. This steadiness of mood was a prominent characteristic of his mental habits. How was it possible except on a psychological basis? To account for it, we have to assume that his education was not merely self-acquired and uniformly maintained, but that it was perfect—as perfect physically as it was spiritually, allowing for the difference in the quality of the discipline—that of sensation revealing itself in the complementary law of cultured sensibility. The ocean heaves

violently after the storm has ceased from its bosom; material nature will not pass from season to season without commotion; men cannot have exalted states of mind and not sink back into disquietness and irritability; and especially public speakers know the languor, along with the temptation to sensuous indulgence, which follow a strain on the nerves. Many a strong man has fallen in such hours a victim to his nerves. Carmel faded out of Elijah when he fled from Jezebel, and the drama of Horeb was needed to restore the soul of heroism to the man. Peter forgot his great confession at Cesarea Philippi in a convulsive reaction. So it ever is; since there can be no extraordinary tension of mind without intensity of nervous excitation. The quickness and extent of the rebound measure the force of the spring. But here is the notable exception, and "what manner of man is this?"

If our modern physiology be interrogated as to the "manner of man" he was, it would surely answer, that while the automatic activity of the nerves performed its proper functions, the sympathetic nerves, and also the "pneumogastric" nerves, were not inattentive to their offices. Brain and heart were kept in normal relations, so that the unconscious or automatic energy and the emotional and voluntary forces were maintained, each in its respective sphere. At times the mental impressions of Christ were apparently very strong, while his public life exposed him to an almost unbroken scene of annoyance and vexation. But we have no intimation that, at any time during the ministry to the people, his physical state was injuriously affected by these worries, nor that the burden of thought was too heavy for him. Extreme cases of the power of passion to disturb the healthy action of the body, and convert the secretions into poisons—cases well understood by eminent physiologists—need not be cited in this argument. Short of this, however, imagine the completeness of Christ's physical discipline, when it was entirely adequate to preserve him serenely poised amid the petty strifes or the more malignant persecutions that allowed no external quietude. There were great turning-points in his career. There were emotional eras. The tests applied to his consciousness as the Son of God were manifold and prolonged, and, evidently, *he felt the body more and more, with its own instincts,* as he grew older. Yet, first and

last, along with his fidelity to the "Father's business"—the key-note sounded in the temple when twelve years of age, and vibrating on till we hear it in the majestic cadence, "I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do"—through every trial and temptation, the tenacious adhesiveness of the body to the Messianic work might give a very significant reading to John Hunter's famous words: "That there is not a natural action in the body, whether involuntary or voluntary, that may not be influenced by the peculiar state of the mind at the time." After all, it may be worth while to study the science in Donne's funeral elegy "On the Death of Mistress Drury:"

> "We understood
> Her by her sight; her pure and eloquent blood
> Spoke in her cheeks; and so distinctly wrought,
> That we might also say her body thought."

Let it, then, be definitely remembered that the body of Christ, Son of Mary, Son of God, was a Messianic body, and, accordingly, in studying his physical habits, we must keep this supreme fact in view. I proceed to say that quick recovery from fatigue—such recovery as leaves no lassitude behind it or residuary in nerves and muscles—may be taken as evidence of a well-disciplined body. No one can read Christ's history without noticing how careful he was to reserve the night for himself, and thereby reproduce his working stock of energy agreeably to the law of periodicity. "Sufficient unto the day" was the work thereof. He undertook no serial tasks; he adjourned no engagements, but finished his duties, one by one, as his career progressed. No haste or excitement was evinced, so that no needless expenditure of force took place, and hence, when the hours of rest came, he was prepared to enjoy their full quota of benefit. Every throb of his heart kept time with the chronometry of the universe; night was to him a semi-Sabbath; and in this he was thoughtful of others as well as of himself, for he had no large gatherings of people at night, and his custom was to perform most of his miracles in the day, the few exceptions of his "mighty works" having occurred for specific objects. No doubt official prudence had much to do with this usage, since his wily enemies might have turned a different method to his disadvantage. Next to the

Sabbath, and akin to it so far as providential law is analogous in the two institutions, he observed, as before intimated, the physical sanctity of the night—a point worthy of attention as illustrative of his uniform obedience to natural law. For here, as elsewhere, "made under the law," he "learned obedience," and turned natural forces into the channel of spiritual agencies.

The miracles of Christ impress a thoughtful mind not simply because they are departures from ordinary phenomena, but for the reason that they are extraordinary authentications of a profound reverence and sympathy in behalf of natural law. Miracle works not so much toward an impression of its own, and as foreign to uniformity of sequences, as it acts in the direction of law itself, existing in its ideal form in the mind of Christ. When occasion arises for him to perform a miracle, he makes no display and assumes nothing like the ostentation of superiority. Nor does he go out of his way to seek or make such occasions. They occur as other incidents of life, every-day affairs, not marked by any exclusive specialty of aspect. In every case he wears the look and manner of one whose love of law prompts him to suspend laws, and, accordingly, these marvels drop from his almighty hand as though he were solely intent on removing the curse that obscured the innate excellence of law by blurring the image of the divine beauty in its external manifestation. Nature was never more like herself, never so like her Maker, as when he restored her faded lineaments. And, in this same spirit of regard for law, he took care that the providential institution of the night, twin-sister of the Sabbath, should have due honor at his hands.

A noticeable thing is that the minimum of sleep appears to have satisfied him. No matter how wearied, he soon rallied; nor have we any reason to think that more nervous force was consumed in any one day than could be easily replaced the following night. Is not this an instance of that equilibrium which goes far beyond the limits of vigorous health, and exemplifies the highest form of the inter-relations between spirit and matter? If so, should we not properly estimate the class of facts now under examination? The theme is certainly next in importance to the moral and spiritual phenomena of Christ's life, and it occupies a significant position in the economy of

redemption. To set forth the capacity of the working human body involves considerations of vast moment. Viewing this subject in its true breadth of interest, one must admit that there is herein a most wise and beneficent exposition of natural theology, which virtually amounts to a revelation of the rarer uses of the body. The uses are economic enough to meet the demands of utility, and, coincidently therewith, the requirements of man's nobler being. It was worthy of the Son of man to do this work, for otherwise we know not how it could have been accomplished. Tell us if the supernatural could have rendered the human mind a more helpful service than by thus taking up the natural into holy companionship with itself, and showing us in the most resplendent of instances that in God we live and move and have our being!

Turn, now, to a memorable day in Christ's life, and we shall be prepared to see its sequel in a night quite as remarkable. From early morning he had been busy. A blind and dumb man, who had a devil, had been healed by him, and the three miracles in one were too much for the Pharisees. Hitherto he had been a wine-bibber, etc., but now he is branded as an ally and confederate of Satan, working miracles by Beelzebub, prince of devils. Then it was that he called the Pharisees "a generation of vipers;" and then, too, his mother and brethren, alarmed at the rupture between him and his most malignant persecutors, hastened to him that they might induce his withdrawal from imminent danger. But his work goes calmly on. A new method of teaching by parable is initiated; parable follows parable, an afternoon of short sermons for a long futurity. Landing from the boat in which he had taught the multitude on the shore, he went into a house and continued his instructions to the disciples. Evening came on, and he said, "Let us pass over unto the other side;" and they set sail for the opposite shore with its lonely hills. A storm soon descended on the lake; he had fallen asleep, but the quiet within him was not disturbed. Higher rose the waves; deeper yawned the hollows of the sea. The oarsmen labored at their unavailing task, while the waters, gathering new strength, were fast prevailing over the little bark. Jesus still slept. Peril was at its utmost, and the disciples cried to him: "Master, carest thou not that we perish?" His sleep was very strange to them—unnatural—even

showing insensibility to their safety. And he arose and spoke quietness to the waters and to the tumult in the hearts of his companions. Do we wonder at the miracle? Ay; but what of that other wonder? Fatigued he must have been in an extraordinary degree, and yet, instead of disquiet and feverishness, the repose is healthy. Despite of the exhaustion, the consternation among the disciples, and the raging tempest, the brain sleeps, the inmost heart sleeps, and the tranquillity is more like an infant's, hushed to rest in its mother's arms, than a man's sleep under circumstances of imminent danger.

Now, this perfect naturalness in the experience of the night indicates Christ's control of his nervous system. The inference is logical that he had complete mastery over his thoughts, and could dismiss them at will from the presence of consciousness. We have known persons who educated themselves to *command* sleep under any ordinary circumstances, but no such case could be taken as analogous to Christ's slumber in the storm. No day of his career had been so fraught with stupendous issues. Galilee had been won over to Judea in hostility to him, and his prospects of ministerial success were suddenly eclipsed. Yet the turmoil is hushed; nature takes up the strife, but nature avails nothing against the refreshment of the night; his sleep is that of God's Christ, and like his waking hours, it is embosomed in the Infinite. Naturally, indeed, the witnesses cried out: "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?" But to us, the "*manner of man*," seen from our stand-point, is this, namely, a man "made under the law," "made like unto his brethren," and furthermore, *making* himself an ideal example of conformity at all times and under all circumstances, whether regular or contingent, to "man's place in the universe." Various lessons are taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, invaluable lessons, such as condense law and Gospel in our best compendium of theology, old and new, historic and didactic, and yet it must not be overlooked that this same epistle lays special emphasis on the facts that he "learned obedience," and was made "perfect through sufferings." Read this epistle along with the gospels, mark the details, trace item by item, and see how Christ "learned" to obey, and how he was made "perfect through sufferings."

Again, it is noteworthy that he is never mentioned in the New Testament as dreaming. Scripture abounds with notices of dreams, many of them communications from the invisible world to men, but in Christ's case no such instance is given. Dr. Delitzsch says: "If the spirit of man, according to its original intention, rested in God, all the sleep of man, without needing supernatural operations of God's grace and power, would be a union with God; and the fullness of the spirit, like to God and united with God, would be reflected in the soul all the more intensively, that it would be the less developed by being retracted from the last forms of life to the first. Of such a kind was the sleep of Jesus. For of him, the sinless Son of man, we read indeed that he slept, but not that he dreamt." *

It is easy to miss the true meaning of facts like these, or, forsooth, to see in them no import whatever. If, as Humboldt says, "The apprehension of unity and harmony is the most important result of the study of nature," surely an inquiry into this unity and harmony as they are exhibited in Christ is of no secondary importance. Physical facts may be observed and generalized into laws for reasons merely physical, and in this case the mind is virtually subordinated to the body. The outward universe, and its relations to the soul through the mediation of the senses, may thus become dominant, and whatever sphere is allotted to the soul it is simply a province in the huge empire of matter. Methods of thought go deeper into our being than thoughts themselves; they are more distinctly personal, and, like the circulating system of the blood, convey the materials of life to every functional activity of the mind. A man is a part of nature and the image of nature, because he is the offspring and image of God; and in this preconceived aspect he must be seen before physical law can be rightly understood. This is plain enough in our Lord's teachings. Does he come to the material world to find parables? Obviously he brings an antecedent method of mind to the leaven, the mustard-seed, the vine and its fruitage, so that the moral, and not the physical, is for him the truth in the fact. Similarly in his miracles, an order appears which could not have been accidental, and must have sought spiritual good as its final purpose. His first miracle was at a wedding, his last public one at a

* "Biblical Physiology," second English edition.

grave: imagine the order reversed, and the incongruity with the end in view would annul the moral impression. Between these extreme points—one the most joyous scene in life, the other the saddest—he brought his almighty power to bear, in the main, on the restoration of the human body to its lost uses; and did he not glorify the original law of creation by removing, in every such case, the evils of the curse darkening the world? "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory;" and again, "Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?" * In both instances, though so unlike, the supreme end is the glory of God, and accordingly, if certain laws are set aside, the ideal beneficence of law itself is signally displayed. Precisely so in Christ's management of his own body. The glory of the Father's wisdom and love, as embodied in law, could not remain a vivid idea when lost to character and conduct, and hence the need to express it in acts calculated to arouse human attention. All law was included in his plan as the Son of God, and if we scrutinize his obedience to law in the discipline of his body, the absence of the miraculous will appear quite as illustrative of the divine glory as the miracles themselves.

The distinctness of attitude in this sphere of Christ's originality is very marked. It is in broad contrast with the ideas and habits of his age. To say nothing of the prevailing sensualism, the sensuousness of the times was altogether adverse to spirituality. The art of Greece had been chiefly engaged in the idealization of the human form as the perfection of beauty, and to such an extent was this glorification of the sensuous carried, that the spiritual had been utterly destroyed. Sculpture, painting, poetry, music, shrunk from the spiritual as fatal to the function of art. On the other hand, while the Hebrews were not an artistic race, the dominant sect of the Pharisees had so completely perverted the idea of Judaism as to make it consist in "bodily exercise." In this, as in all else, the "word of God" was made "of none effect" through their "tradition." Here, then, Grecian art and degenerate Judaism had joined hands to obliterate the true conception of the body, and put carnal sensuousness and superstition in its stead. Christ

* John's gospel, chapters ii and xi.

was confronted at every step by these evils. To be a Divine Teacher was not enough. A Divine Exemplar was needed, one who could vivify truth by putting it in the shape of fact. Behind the carnality of Greek art and Pharisaic traditions, lay the old truth of sensuousness as a divine truth and prominently set forth in the probation of man in Eden; and it was reserved for Christ to teach and exemplify this sensuousness by giving to the world the Christian doctrine of the human body. Observe now the method which he adopted. Here is the parabolical mode of instruction; it is sensuous in the simplest and most direct kind of imaginative action. Here are the miracles wrought, in most cases, on the bodies of sufferers, and sensuousness in every instance is restored to its legitimate functions. Above all, here in his own person and habits, this Christian doctrine of the human body, resting on the recovered and spiritualized conception of sensuousness, is luminously set before our eyes. Asiatic and yet in western Asia with its contrasts to eastern Asia; Jew and yet provincial in distinction from metropolitan; peasant and mechanic in separation from the professional classes, he presents at first the more local and race-marks of sensuous life. But, as he advances through the three years' ministry, *he grows away* more and more from his birthplace, domestic connections, and circumstantial aspects of his position, while vindicating his self-chosen title as Son of man. And at every step, as he "grows away" from the past and individualizes himself in a broader circle of sympathies, natural laws are seen in closer relations with higher laws. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Psa. lxxxv, 10. But was this all the harmonization requisite in the scheme of redemption? Nay; sensuousness and spirituality in the humanity of the Son of Mary had to be reconciled, and this was to be "learned" by "obedience," and made "perfect through sufferings." Instance his meekness. It had modal variability while retaining its absolute quality. Now we all know how very dependent this virtue of meekness is on physical conditions, and we know, too, its manifoldness in Christ. Its perfection in him is, therefore, a physiological fact as well as a moral sentiment.

Physical law has its own domain, and should not be confounded with moral law. Analogy detects likeness in the two

forms of law; but resemblance is not sameness, and to maintain the value of analogy in science and religion we must keep each in its own sphere. Yet, we see in Christ that physiological facts were co-related with spiritual facts; the two classes of facts were in constant interaction; and in this sense we may accept Milton's words: "And corporeal to incorporeal turn." Christ's own body was to him an epitome of the Providence over the universe. Its laws were reverenced, its symmetry of activities devoutly sustained, its unity and beauty never impaired. "In himself was all his state;" and that high dignity of manhood, evidential of another nature above the human, was not lowered once in all the vicissitudes of his fortunes. Popular in Galilee, unpopular in Judea, he was the same Christ. Remonstrance on the part of his mother and brethren against his course produced no irritation. Patience had her perfect work. The repose of strength, that hardest of all achievements because of bodily hinderances, was habitual. On no occasion was he overtaken by surprise, nor could the adroitness or the stealthy arts of his enemies prevail against him. For every change in circumstances, for sudden assaults, for the devices of sophistry, for ambuscades to entrap his ministry, he was always prepared, never off his guard, never less than himself, never other than himself.

A demoniac disturbs his congregation at Capernaum, and the torturing spirit is dismissed to another world. Shameless men drag a wretched woman before him in the temple, and they cower and retreat from his avenging presence. A mob threatens his life; silently he vanishes from its midst and foils its rage. Now, we all know how frequently, with the most disciplined men, the attention relaxes, the memory fails, the judgment errs, not so much from mental defects either as to original capacity or acquired culture, but simply because some nerve-cell, or some other part of the animal economy, is out of order. These things seem to us unaccountable freaks and caprices, and yet, no doubt, the laws of our physical nature have been violated unconsciously in all such mishaps. A little too much blood in the brain, a little excess of heat, too rapid breathing, a fit of indigestion, and the wisest of men, at the moment, verge on imbecility. But nothing of this sort appears in Christ, for he had educated even human infirmity.

Evidently, then, *he educated his temperament* and made it a

portion of his character. The body "prepared" for him does not explain all the facts, so that while we admit what was done *for him*, we must also recognize what was done *by him* in the processes of self-culture. This is the more noticeable since he was Benefactor, Healer, Teacher, Preacher, Organizer, each of these an inlet to multitudinous impressions, and each an outlet to its own specialized power. A physician grows into his particular class of habits; and so with teacher and preacher; and, furthermore, a set of habits friendly to one profession is often adverse to the interests of another profession. Do we ever witness any break in the continuity of Christ's life when he moves from one department of exertion to some other? And how remarkable must have been his physical training, when he combined his numerous offices in the one Messianic office; discharged their apparently incongruous functions not only in ideal unanimity but with ideal equanimity; executed their diversified tasks every day and every hour of the day, and compressed their vast achievements within the space of three years!

Nor is it less obvious to one who studies the fourfold biography of the Lord Jesus in the gospels, that he was free from all excess in the care of his body, and never allowed it a disproportionate share of prudential attention. He never strikes us as working up to the measure of his ability. Observe him after that busy Sabbath at Capernaum (Mark i, 21–39): "And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." One of the most laborious Sabbaths in his ministry, crowded with experiences strangely dissimilar—a few hours of rest sufficient to reinstate his bodily waste of strength—and then, rising up a great while before day to commune with his Father: is not this a marvelous spectacle even in the gospel of wonders? We rise from no other personal annals with such an intense conviction of surplusage in the matter of power; and, what is quite as noteworthy, the evenness in the distribution of this power, so that the exact *quantum* of force goes to each faculty and function, characterizes his entire history. Would it not be well for us, then, to study more assiduously, and in the light of recent science, what I may venture to call the "physiological basis of Christ's character and ministry?"

From the foregoing illustrations of Christ's physical disci-

pline, one may see more clearly the bearing of certain facts on his Messianic history. If he loved the open air and its joyous freedom of life; if he had his later home near the Sea of Tiberias, where the climate was "well nigh a perpetual spring," and the land "flowed with milk and honey;" if he confined the most of his ministry to a small territory beautifully diversified by hill and plain, and, within this narrow area, varied almost daily the scene of his labors; if he observed the law of concentration as to time and place and people; if he steadily narrowed down the issues between himself and his countrymen to the single issue of his divine and eternal Sonship; and if, furthermore, he ended his career just when he reached the fullness of physical development and before the exhaustion of toil and trial had set in; it cannot be doubted that these were constitutive elements in a plan involving an extraordinary co-ordination of intellectual, moral, social, physical life in his Messianic work. Had we been told beforehand that body possessed such a latent capacity for alliance and sympathy with mind, so that

> "Sensations sweet,
> Felt in the blood and felt along the heart,"

not only stood related to moral sensibility but cultivated and enhanced its action in the holiest of possible activities, it would have taxed our power of belief. But in Christ the wonder is historically verified, and, as such, has an immense practical value, since every principle of goodness and every sentiment that ennobles the struggles of our nature to reach a higher plane of being, not only has its strength re-enforced but its victory over animalism of every sort assured.

Toward the close of Christ's ministry we see the extent to which he carried this physical discipline in preparing him to meet the sorrow and gloom of his last hours. During the journey through Perea, in his visit to Bethany and the raising of Lazarus from the grave, afterward in the return to Perea, then in the entry into Jerusalem, and the incidents following, we behold him manifesting an unusual degree of sensibility. Tears fall from his eyes, the heart is overfull, and his voice breaks with grief. Men are more hostile than ever to him and his mission. They press him with vexatious questions; snares are spread every-where to entangle him; he has been outlawed;

and from all quarters trials and temptations rush upon him; and, meantime, his emotional nature is wrought on intensely. Physiological science teaches us that volitional attention exhausts the mind rapidly, and it teaches further that depressing emotions impair the secretions. Throughout his ministry, Christ has shown how he could withstand the constant demand on his will; and now, in his last days, what are the aspects of the emotional Christ? Probably the most convincing proof of his physical discipline may be found in the phenomena of emotion in this severe conflict. Emotional life in poet, artist, orator, tends to weaken the capacity for endurance. Emotional life in the physician requires that the feelings be sheathed and the nerves drilled to the lancet and the knife. Emotional life in the philanthropist seems to weaken sympathy for individuals, and, in some cases, men eminent for devotion to humanity on a grand scale of effort have been lacking in domestic feeling. But in the existence of Christ sympathy needed no self-defense. Familiarity with suffering did not deaden sensibility. The dyer's hand was not subdued to what it worked in. Hence the conclusion that his emotional life was not specific to any department of his work, but generic to his humanity as such; and, accordingly, that it was the man—not the worker, the healer, the philanthropist—who was the typical disciplinarian of the body, and raised it, as never before nor since, into copartnership with the soul. Viewed in this light, the earthly body of Christ is not merely in training to undergo the sufferings in the Garden and on the Cross. True, every thing points most prophetically to an ultimate present result, to a divine climax in which all this experience shall justify itself in the order of providence. At the same time it has a further bearing. It indicates a vital connection with a prospective scheme of corporeal development, and is the foretokening of Christ's "spiritual body;" the same body and yet a very different body, its identity consisting in the fact that it has been wrought into the texture of his Messianic character and glory.

Materialism, in one shape or another, is now the battle-ground between faith and science. Not a few scientific thinkers are far more anxious to demonstrate our resemblance to the ape than our likeness to the Son of Mary, and of all the logical abuses of the day the utter perversion of analogy is intellectu-

ally the most harmful and spiritually the most debasing. If the doctrine of the human body, as taught by Christ and elaborated by St. Paul, were to enter into our civilization as a controlling and sanctifying influence, what a stride toward the millennium we should make by this victory over animalism! The doctrine lies imbedded in the words, "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual." 1 Cor. xv, 46. Even the fallen human body, the ground cursed, thorns and thistles in its way, death awaiting it—even this body brought more out of Eden than it left behind, for it, too, brought out the promise of Christ. The "afterward" has already come in part, and it is only waiting God's time to come in full. If, indeed, we must go forward to the forty days between the Lord's resurrection and ascension to behold the nature and glory of his "spiritual body," yet, nevertheless, we have a most helpful and precious lesson in the fact that the body of his humiliation was spiritualized so far as to become a perfect coadjutor with his spirit in the Messianic work. Is it not the most practical of lessons to us, and especially valuable in these days? Soul is cultivated and ennobled here and now, to be a future soul; why not body? If the one is in Christ's school, why not the other? The future is nascent in the present, and, assuredly, we shall be protected against this threatened epidemic of materialism if we believe and feel that the resurrection body is partly idealized to the conceptive imagination in our existing corporeal structure—a tabernacle foreshadowing a temple.

Art. V.—RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

Part I.—Scientific.

One would naturally expect that Science in the hands of fallible men would sometimes make mistakes, and, as a rule, continue changing its position as knowledge grows from more to more. While the physical universe with which it has to do is a fixed quantity, the Science which interprets the universe must, in

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

the hands of finite men, forever remain a variable quantity. Never until Science and the universe correspond to each other like the two sides of an algebraic equation will the point be reached at which Science will be beyond the necessity for retreat or change. This seems reasonable, and, indeed, self-evident. But there are many men belonging to the school of modern unbelief who do not see that the same thing ought to be admitted as likely to hold good in the sphere of theology. Its field, the Bible and the universe viewed as a revelation of God, is also a fixed quantity. But man the theologian, like man the scientist, is finite and fallible. It therefore follows that Theology, like Science, might be expected to make mistakes, and thus need to change its position—now to withdraw and now to advance—until it has become a more correct expression of objective truth. Surely it must be obvious to every reasonable mind that it can be no discredit to Theology to do so, if it is no discredit to Science.

Yet nothing is more common on the part of some unbelievers in our common Christianity than indulgence in sarcasm or derision at the expense of Theology because of its many so-called retreats before the advance of Science. We may find these retreats at times forming a favorite and telling theme with writers by no means of the baser sort, especially when they wish to produce a powerful rhetorical effect. As a specimen, we may give the following from Dr. Draper:

> The contest respecting the figure of the earth, and the location of heaven and hell, ended adversely to the ecclesiastic. He affirmed that the earth is an extended plane, and that the sky is a firmament, the floor of heaven, through which again and again persons have been seen to ascend, though its globular form is demonstrated beyond any possibility of contradiction by astronomical facts, and by the voyage of Magellan's ship. He then maintained that the earth is the central body of the universe, all others being in subordination to it, and it the grand object of God's regard. Forced from this position, he next affirmed that it is motionless, the sun and the stars actually revolving, as they apparently do, around it. The invention of the telescope proved that here again he was in error. Then he maintained that all the motions of the solar system are regulated by providential intervention; the "Principia" of Newton demonstrated that they are due to irresistible law.*

* Draper, "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," p. 360.

And so on, through some more sentences of a similar kind. We find Professor Huxley at times launching out in the same strain, as in the following passage, which the reader will likely recognize:

> Extinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules; and history records that whenever science and orthodoxy have been fairly opposed, the latter has been forced to retire from the lists, bleeding and crushed, if not annihilated; scotched, if not slain.*

Here, it will be observed, the agony is piled up with telling effect, all to the glory of the scientific man, and to the utter discomfiture of the poor "ecclesiastic" and the "orthodox," as if they were the only sinners in the case.

But one may well wonder why it never occurs to shrewd men that, in regard to such points as those mentioned above, it was not so much Theology that was wrong and ought to blush as the Science of the day. These points are matters lying quite outside of the proper field of Theology, and within that of Science. It does not belong to Theology to determine them, and it cannot determine them. It no more belongs to Theology to determine them than it belongs to physical science to determine questions in pure theology, or to mathematics to determine questions in psychology. Theology simply took up the common language of men in reference to such matters, the language of the Science of the age, just because it was Theology and not Science. Accordingly, if theologians have had occasion to retreat from such positions as those referred to, whose blame is it? Certainly, to a large extent, the blame of Science; that defective contemporary Science which the sacred writers or the theologians of the past accepted. It is false Science and not Theology, certainly false Science as much as Theology, that we have to blame for those wrong views in regard to the figure and position of the earth, the nature of the firmament, the motion of the sun and stars, and the like. In regard to these matters, it is Science rather than Theology that has had to beat an ignominious retreat, and has reason to blush because it had not done its work better. It is, indeed, almost a kind of impertinence for Science to blame Theology solely for these mistakes, just as it would be an impertinence in the theologian to blame

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 305.

Science because it had not discovered the nature of the Trinity. The fact is, Theology in its proper sphere has had to retreat and change during the last fifteen hundred years much less than Science. The Theology of the age of Augustine is more closely allied to that of the present day than the Science of that age is to the Science of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, such pointed tirades as those with which we sometimes meet ought to be leveled against Science rather than against Theology. The guns are pointed in the wrong direction; for the original errors are clearly errors of Science rather than of Theology.

One would almost suppose, at times, that it was only ignorant Christians and theologians who had been so narrow and blinded as to oppose the discoveries of Science in the past. No doubt many of them were narrow and blinded enough to do so. But what about the citizens of the scientific commonwealth themselves? Were they always ready to hail every new discovery in Science, and defend it against the blinded theologian or the narrow Christian? On the contrary, some of the most decided opposition came from the scientific ranks themselves. The Copernican theory of the solar system met with the determined opposition of the astronomers of the age. Leibnitz and other distinguished contemporaries rejected and derided the theory of gravitation when propounded by Newton. When Harvey announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood, "all the physicians were against his opinion;" and very much the same thing happened to Jenner when he introduced vaccination. When Young propounded the undulatory theory of light, he "was hooted at as absurd by the popular scientific writers of the day." Christlieb reminds us that the French Academy "in former times rejected (1) the use of quinine, (2) vaccination, (3) lightning conductors, (4) the existence of meteorolites, (5) the steam engine." * And did not Goethe deny and ridicule Newton's theory of colors? And is it only theologians who refuse to accept the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution? Without doubt many theologians have been foolish enough to reject genuine scientific discoveries, but citizens of the commonwealth of Science have been, to say the least, just as foolish. Is there not an old proverb that says, "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones?"

* "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 324, note (Clark).

Let no one suppose that we imagine theologians to have always acted wisely in the past in regard to the discoveries of Science. On the contrary, in much of their conduct we praise them not. There has been, and there still is, in a lessening degree, a hard and narrow school who live in an hysterical dread of Science, and who, if they do not hate it, look upon it with ill-disguised suspicion. The mode of procedure adopted by this school, there is reason to believe, tells most injuriously against the Bible and religion, and gives no small impulse to skepticism. Instead of opening their eyes and looking out for the reasonable and true, the sound and safe position, they lay it down as a principle to make no surrender until they are compelled. They meet every new advance of Science with unworthy disbelief and opposition, instead of that hearty recognition which the love of truth and a firm faith in God should inspire. They take up false positions, one after another, only to be compelled to abandon them one after another. And the consequence of all this is only too certain. In the mind of on-lookers Christianity becomes associated with defeat and all that is untenable, until their faith in it is sadly shaken and disintegrated. There is too much reason to fear that the course of action just referred to awakens more skeptical doubts, and makes more skeptics, than all the Science in the world.

Our more immediate object, however, in the present article, is to draw attention to some important points at which the unbelief of the age has received a substantial check, or has even been worsted and compelled to retreat. There are such points both in the sphere of Science and in that of historical criticism. We shall find that, at certain important points, Science calls a halt at present, greatly to the annoyance of blatant infidelity. We shall also find that, at not a few important points, historical criticism has not only administered to unbelief a substantial check, but has even succeeded in turning the tide, and still succeeds in keeping it decidedly flowing back.

When we take the case even of Herbert Spencer, who is spoken of by his sympathizers as "the apostle of the understanding," and "our great philosopher," we find in his latest utterances that a great deal more is admitted than perhaps some unbelievers like to see. We do not say that he has changed his religious ground, but only that he has stated anew,

explicitly and succinctly, what all must feel to be logically implied in his position. The Unknowable, which takes the place of God in his philosophy, is an object about which Mr. Spencer really knows a great deal, and which contains many of the attributes of Deity. This Unknowable—he prints this and similar words with an initial capital—he knows and declares to be Energy, Infinite, Eternal, the Ultimate Reality, the Ultimate Cause. It transcends phenomena, and "belief in its existence has, among our beliefs, the highest validity of any," and "an indestructible consciousness of it is the very basis of our intelligence." "Duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny personality" in regard to it. The "choice is not between personality and something lower than personality," but "between personality and something higher;" for the "Ultimate Power is no more representable in terms of human consciousness than human consciousness is representable in terms of a plant's functions." In other words, the Ultimate Power is not personal in the human sense, because it is as much higher than human personality as such personality is higher than vegetable life. Furthermore, it is in some sense true that by this "Infinite and Eternal Energy all things are created and sustained," and it "stands toward our general conception of things in substantially the same relation as does the Creative Power asserted by Theology." In short, the Unknowable is the Ultimate Reality, higher than human personality, Infinite, Eternal, and Unchangeable in being, power, and activity, the First Cause, the Creator and Preserver of all things. When we further learn that there is in man a "religious consciousness" which "must continue to exist," we come extremely near possessing all those elements which form a logical basis for religion.*

Passing on, however, to our more special object, we proceed to mention two or three important points at which modern unbelief has received a substantial check at the hands of Science.

When the development hypothesis obtained such an amount of proof as to make it plausible, it was immediately taken up, and the trumpet was sounded to proclaim that creation could now be explained without a personal God—indeed, that there was no such thing as creation in any form. Not only did unbelievers accept it as the explanation of the descent of one species

* See the "Nineteenth Century" for July, 1884, on "Retrospective Religion."

from another after life had been originated, as Darwin held and taught, but, more Darwinian than Darwin, they held that it accounted for the very origin of life itself. Life, said they, is no new thing, but merely one of the forms of physical force, like motion, or heat, or light, or electricity. And just as physical force can pass freely into the form of motion, or heat, or electricity, so it can pass into the form of life. In short, life originated out of mere matter and physical force in the course of natural development by spontaneous generation, or what is called abiogenesis.

But what is the real teaching of Science at present in regard to this matter? Certainly it is decidedly against the supposition that life springs into being out of dead matter and force by any process of *spontaneous generation.* All the facts of Science, as distinguished from its fancies, clearly point to the conclusion that life springs only from life. If we ask what scientists of the highest authority, whom no one can reasonably imagine to be biased by orthodox Christianity, have to say in regard to the matter, we shall find that their testimony is firm and clear. Professor Huxley must be regarded as an unexceptionable witness in the case, and here is his testimony:

> Not only is the kind of evidence adduced in favor of abiogenesis logically insufficient to furnish proof of its occurrence, but it may be stated as a well-based induction, that the more careful the investigator, and the more complete his mastery over the endless practical difficulties which surround experimentation on this subject, the more certain are his experiments to give a negative result.

Again he says:

> The fact is, that at the present moment there is not a shadow of trustworthy direct evidence that abiogenesis does take place, or has taken place within the historic period during which the existence of life on the globe is recorded.*

The name of Professor Tyndall stands, like that of Professor Huxley, in the front rank of trustworthy and successful scientific investigators, and he is no less explicit. It is true that when he is indulging in the "scientific use of the imagination," and "crosses the boundary of experimental evidence," he discovers in matter "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life." But when he confines himself to truth scientifically

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. iii, p. 689; article on "Biology."

ascertained, he gives his testimony round and clear in favor of biogenesis as against abiogenesis, and no one has earned more worthily than he the right to speak with authority on this subject. He says:

In reply to your question [whether there exists the least evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter], true men of science will frankly admit their inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life.*

In another place he says:

I here affirm, that no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life in our day has ever appeared independently of antecedent life. †

And once more, he declares "that every attempt made in our day to generate life, independently of antecedent life, has utterly broken down." ‡

We now pass from our own country [Britain] to the Continent. As the representative of the highest science of France, we cite the testimony of Pasteur, whose name in regard to this department appropriately follows that of Tyndall. After long and minute experimentation in reference to spontaneous generation, he gives this as his assured conclusion:

There is no case known at the present day in which we can affirm that microscopic creatures have come into existence without germs, without parents like themselves. Those who pretend that they do have been the dupes of illusions, of experiments badly performed, vitiated by mistakes which they have not been able to perceive, or which they have not known how to avoid. §

From France we pass to Germany. Professor Virchow of Berlin is a name worthy to be mentioned along with the preceding. He is not only an authority of the first class, but one who may also be safely regarded as free from all theological bias. His declaration is most explicit:

This *generatio æquivoca* [by which he means spontaneous generation], which has been so often contested and so often contradicted, is, nevertheless, always meeting us afresh. To be sure,

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, p. 194, "Belfast Address."

† "Nineteenth Century," March, 1878, p. 507.

‡ "Fragments of Science," Preface to the sixth edition, p. vi.

§ "Revue des Cours scientifiques," 23 Avril, 1864, p. 265; article "Des Générations spontanées."

we know not a single positive fact to prove that a *generatio æquivoca* has ever been made, that inorganic masses—such as the firm of Carbon & Co.—have ever spontaneously developed themselves into organic masses. No one has ever seen a *generatio æquivoca* effected; and whoever supposes that it has occurred is contradicted by the naturalist, and not merely by the theologian. . . . We must acknowledge that it has not yet been proved.*

Our space does not permit us to adduce more testimonies. Nor is it necessary; for the preceding are quite sufficient to show the exact state of the case in the estimation of scientific men of the very highest rank, who are at the same time quite free from all theological bias. The chasm between the inorganic and the organic, the lifeless and the living, is not yet bridged over. But what follows from this according to Strauss? He says:

> So long as we regard the contrast between the inorganic and the organic—lifeless and living nature—as an absolute one—so long as we hold fast to the conception of a special vital power—it is *impossible to get over the chasm without miracle.*†

Another most important point at which the hypothesis of merely natural evolution has received a check is in regard to the *time* requisite for the necessities of the case. It demands countless millions of years for its operation. But, according to our highest physicists, such countless millions of years cannot possibly be allowed. Professor Tait of Edinburgh, speaking in regard to this point, says:

> The subject [how long the earth has been habitable for plants and animals] has been taken up very carefully within the last few years by Sir William Thomson. . . . He divides his argument upon it into three heads. The first is an argument from the internal heat of the earth; the second is from the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation; and the third is from the sun's temperature. . . . Each of these arguments is quite independent of the

* "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," pp. 36, *ff.*, second edition.

† "Der alte und der neue Glaube," p. 174. In the original Strauss uses the past tense in the above quotation. Why? Because at the time he wrote, *Bathybius* was the popular catchword—*Bathybius* which Professors Huxley and Hackel regarded as offering a possible explanation of life. Desperate men will catch at straws, and so Strauss grasped at *Bathybius;* and thinking that the physical theory of life was now demonstrated, he wrote in the past tense. But we now know that the explanation of the origin of life by *Bathybius* is, to use a word which Strauss has made famous, a *myth.* Hence we feel warranted in translating in the present tense.

other two, and is—for all tend to something about the same—to the effect that ten millions of years is about the utmost that can be allowed, from the physical point of view, for all the changes that have taken place on the earth's surface since vegetable life of the lowest form was capable of existing here. . . . I dare say many of you are acquainted with the speculations of Lyell and others, especially of Darwin, who tell us that even for a comparatively brief portion of recent geological history three hundred millions of years will not suffice ! . . . Physical considerations from various independent points of view render it utterly impossible that more than ten or fifteen millions of years can be granted.*

Here we have the results at which Sir William Thomson has arrived, and in which both he and Professor Tait, two of our foremost mathematical physicists, concur. It is true that Dr. Croll questions the exact trustworthiness of some of Sir William's calculations, but he himself says:

The general conclusion to which we are therefore led from physical considerations regarding the age of the sun's heat is, that the entire geological history of our globe must be comprised within less than one hundred millions of years.†

Darwin felt and acknowledged this "formidable objection," and apparently has no solution to offer except the supposition of "violent changes, causing a more rapid rate of development." ‡

We might also draw attention with effect to the fact that *infertility between distinct species* still stands as a difficult barrier in the way of the hypothesis of mere natural evolution. Even after all the influence and care of man in producing different varieties, some of them very unlike the originals, he has never yet succeeded in producing from any of the higher species a new species which can stand the test of continued infertility in the attempt at inter-breeding with the original. Mr. Darwin does not profess that this has ever been attained in regard to any of the higher species; and Professor Huxley frankly says:

It is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characters exhibited by species in nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural. . . . There is no positive evidence, at present, that any group of animals has, by variation and selective breeding, given rise to another group which was even in the least degree infertile with the first.

* "Recent Advances in Physical Science," pp. 165, *ff.*

† "Climate and Time," p. 355. ‡ "Origin of Species," p. 286, sixth edition.

And he speaks of this as the "'little rift within the lute," which is not to be disguised or overlooked." *

We pass on, however, to another point, closely connected with the above, at which modern unbelief has met with a decided check at the hands of Science. We refer to the *origin of man*. It was fondly hoped by many, believed by not a few, and even loudly proclaimed by some, that man was merely a natural and chance development out of the ape, or some other lower animal. There are not a few who hold that this is the true origin of man, and that to speak of him as being in any true sense created by God, or in the image of God, is a delusion. There is no divine or immortal spirit in him; he is merely an animal of the higher and luckier kind, only of the earth, earthy. Of course they have not found out the "missing link" bridging over the chasm between man and the ape; but they have always been ready to proclaim, on each new discovery of a human skull, that here was the necessary link, the immediate progenitor of man. "Every body who found a skull in a cave, or a bone in the fissure of a rock, thought he had got a bit of him." Professor Häckel has actually gone so far as to fill up the yawning gap out of his imagination, and even to give the imaginary creature a name, and the name is *Alalus!*

There are two capital facts from which this view of the descent of man has received a check. One is the fact of the vast distance between the brain of man and that of the nearest apes. It is acknowledged that natural evolution proceeds only by infinitesimal variations. Mr. Darwin himself says: "Natural selection can never take a great and sudden leap, but must advance by short and sure, though slow, steps." † Now, speaking in a general way, the brain-mass of man is about three times that of the highest anthropoid ape. To quote from Mr. A. R. Wallace:

> The collections of Dr. J. B. Davis and Dr. Morton give the following as the average internal capacity of the cranium in the chief races: Teutonic family, 94 cubic inches; Esquimaux, 91 cubic inches; Negroes, 85 cubic inches; Australians and Tasmanians, 82 cubic inches; Bushmen, 77 cubic inches. . . . The adult male orang-outang is quite as bulky as a small-sized man, while the gorilla is considerably above the average size of man,

* "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," p. 323.

† "Origin of Species," p. 156.

as estimated by bulk and weight; yet the former has a brain of only 28 cubic inches; the latter, one of 30, or, in the largest specimens yet known, of 34½ cubic inches. We have seen that the average cranial capacity of the lowest savages is probably not less than *five sixths* of that of the highest civilized races, while the brain of the anthropoid apes scarcely amounts to *one third* that of man, in both cases taking the average; or the proportions may be more clearly represented by the following figures: anthropid apes, 10; savages, 26; civilized man, 32.*

Where, then, is the possibility of this great chasm being leaped over by that law of natural selection which "can never take a leap?" It is brought to a direct halt by the impassable chasm, as the mountain-climber at times finds his course over the glacier suddenly arrested by some tremendous crevasse.

But when the climber comes upon an impassable chasm he can occasionally find a way over it by walking far enough along the side. May it not be the same here? Scientific men answer as yet with an emphatic No; and this is the second capital fact to which we referred. On the one side we have the human race, and on the other side the anthropoid apes, and between them a chasm deep and wide, which no mere evolution can leap over. But when we travel along the human side of this chasm, away into the dim ages of the past, we nowhere find a bridge, scarcely even an approach of the two opposite sides. The chasm remains substantially the same, equally deep and wide, and equally mysterious and impassable all the way along. In other words, when we travel back to the remotest ages, we find that man was then possessed of the same brain-mass as at present, and there is no real indication of approximation to the ape. Between the two there still remains the same great gulf fixed. On this point Mr. Wallace is also very explicit:

> The few remains yet known of pre-historic man do not indicate any material diminution in the size of the brain-case. A Swiss skull of the stone age, found in the lake dwelling of Meilen, corresponded exactly to that of a Swiss youth of the present day. The celebrated Neanderthal skull had a larger circumference than the average; and its capacity, indicating actual mass of brain, is estimated to have been not less than seventy-five cubic inches, or nearly the average of existing Australian crania. The Engis skull, perhaps the oldest known, and which, according to Sir John

* "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," p. 338, second edition.

Lubbock, "there seems no doubt was really contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear," is yet, according to Professor Huxley, "a fair average skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage." Of the cave men of Les Eyzies, who were undoubtedly contemporary with the reindeer in the south of France, Professor Paul Broca says: "The great capacity of the brain, the development of the frontal region, the fine elliptical form of the anterior part of the profile of the skull, are incontestable characteristics of superiority, such as we are accustomed to meet with in civilized races." *

Professor Virchow is no less explicit. He says:

When we study the fossil man of the quaternary period, who must, of course, have stood comparatively near to our primitive ancestors in the order of descent, or rather ascent, we find always a *man*, just such men as are now. . . . The old troglodytes, pile-villagers, and bog-people prove to be quite a respectable society. They have heads so large that many a living person would only be too happy to possess such. . . . Nay, if we gather together the whole sum of the fossil men hitherto known, and put them parallel with those of the present time, we can decidedly pronounce that there are among living men a much larger number of individuals who show a relatively inferior type than there are among the fossils known up to this time. . . Every addition to the amount of objects which we have attained as materials for discussion has removed us farther from the hypothesis propounded.†

We may add the following from Professor Du Bois-Reymond, also of Berlin University:

At a certain period of the development of life on the globe, an epoch of which we do not know the date, there arose a thing new and hitherto unheard of, a thing incomprehensible as the essence of matter and force. The thread of our intelligence of nature, which mounts up to that infinitely distant time, is broken, and we find ourselves face to face with an impassable abyss. That new and incomprehensible phenomenon is thought. ‡

The outcome of all this obviously is, that, so far as matters go at present, natural evolution is brought to a complete halt at the edge of the impassable gulf which stretches along between man and the ape all the way throughout the ages.

We close this department of our subject with briefly mentioning one other point where Science administers a check to

* Wallace, "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," pp. 336, *f.*

† "The Freedom of Science in the Modern State," p. 63.

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

the grosser infidelity. We refer to the *materialistic explanation of consciousness and thought.* It may be granted that thought and feeling are accompanied with molecular action in the brain, but we cannot write the two things over against each other as equivalents. The highest scientific authorities are quite clear and emphatic that the two things are utterly incommensurable, and that there is no conceivable translation from the one into the other. In other words, the purely materialistic explanation of thought is as utterly unthinkable as ever. "The passage," says Professor Tyndall, "from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is inconceivable as a result of mechanics." Even were our minds and senses vastly "expanded, strengthened, and illuminated, the chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable." "In reality [the molecular groupings and motions] explain nothing. The utmost [the materialist] can affirm is the association of two classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance. The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble, in its modern form, as it was in the pre-scientific ages." *

Du Bois-Reymond is equally plain. We might refer to the quotation given in the preceding paragraph; but we may be allowed to add the following:

> What conceivable connection subsists between definite movements of definite atoms in my brain on the one hand, and on the other hand such primordial, indefinable, undeniable facts as these: "I feel pain or pleasure; I experience a sweet taste, or smell a rose, or hear an organ, or see something red?" . . . It is absolutely and forever inconceivable that a number of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen atoms should be otherwise than indifferent as to their own position and motion, past, present, or future. It is utterly inconceivable how consciousness should result from their joint action.†

Elsewhere he says, most emphatically, "that not only in the present state of our knowledge is thought not explicable by means of its material conditions, but from the nature of things it will never be." ‡

* "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 87, *f.*

† Quoted in Tyndall's "Fragments of Science," vol. ii, pp. 228, *f.*

‡ "La Revue scientifique," 10 Octobre, 1874, p. 341.

Art. VI.—THE DANGER OF APOSTASY.

'Αδύνατον γὰρ τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου καὶ μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ καλὸν γευσαμένους θεοῦ ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ παραπεσόντας, πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀνασταυροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδειγματίζοντας. Γῆ γὰρ ἡ πιοῦσα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον πολλάκις ὑετόν, καὶ τίκτουσα βοτάνην εὔθετον ἐκείνοις δι' οὓς καὶ γεωργεῖται, μεταλαμβάνει εὐλογίας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκφέρουσα δὲ ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀδόκιμος καὶ κατάρας ἐγγύς, ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν.—Hebrews vi, 4–8.

For as touching those who were once enlightened and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the age to come, and *then* fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame. For the land which hath drunk the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whose sake it is also tilled, receiveth blessing from God: but if it beareth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned.—*Revised Version.*

'Εκουσίως γὰρ ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, οὐκέτι περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία, φοβερὰ δέ τις ἐκδοχὴ κρίσεως καὶ πυρὸς ζῆλος ἐσθίειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωυσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν ἀποθνήσκει· πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας. οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα. Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω· καὶ πάλιν Κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος. Hebrews x, 26–31.

For if we sin willfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries. A man that hath set at naught Moses's law dieth without compassion on *the word of* two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? For we know him that said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense. And again, The Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.—*Revised Version.*

The two passages given above, the latter being simply a duplicate of the former, with only slight variations, are at once important and difficult. They have been the subject of an untold amount of learned discussion, criticism, and word-twisting, and about them have been fought some of the severest battles recorded in the annals of theological and biblical polemics; and the end is not yet. Our limits forbid us to attempt even an outline of the history of these conflicts, and we must be content with only brief references, and concise presentations of some of the many interpretations that have been offered of the

words and forms of expression found in the above quoted passages, and with the statement of the conclusions to which they seem to lead.

To the unsophisticated reader these passages, at their first reading, would suggest the thought that their author saw a very great danger, against which he desired to warn those whom he addressed; that this danger was *real*, and not simply apparent, and that its visitation would be of the most fearful character; and also, that the realization of these deprecated evils was contingent and capable of being avoided. As a lesson of Christian instruction and admonition, it seems, at first sight, to assume that those to whom the warnings were addressed had attained to the conditions and relations first indicated, which they are earnestly exhorted to maintain; and in all this there is a natural implication that there is a fearful possibility of failure, and that the consequences of coming short would be a complete and final loss of the contemplated blessings, assured to them that continue to the end.

Probably the difficulties that have appeared to some minds in these passages would not have seemed especially formidable but for their bearing upon certain points of dogmatic theology; and were those dogmas entirely out of the way, the interpretation of the language of the epistle would be quite obvious. It is no doubt allowable to concede something to the "analogy of the faith" in the interpretation of Scripture; not, however, to conform the obvious sense of the word to creeds and doctrines of men's invention, but simply to harmonize the teachings of the various portions of the word of God with themselves. Every true critic or exegete, seeking only to know what is the real sense of the written word, is aware of the blinding and perverting influence of dogmatic prepossessions, and these are especially troublesome when any favorite dogma, which is also an essential element of a theological system, becomes an effective factor in some problem of interpretation. Among the valuable results of the rational (not rationalistic) methods of modern criticism is the assertion and acceptance of the maxim that dogma is always subordinate to Scripture, and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the language of the Bible should always be preferred, and, indeed, never given up except as required by the still clearer teachings of

other portions of the inspired word. Scripture may be interpreted by Scripture, but never by dogmas.

The application of this rule to the case in hand would no doubt very greatly mitigate its difficulties, and possibly it would make plain and easily intelligible all of its seeming obscurities and contradictions. But this can be done only at the expense of the symmetry of some of the famous creeds of Christendom.

The doctrine known and designated as "the perseverance of the saints" declares that a person who has been truly regenerated cannot, by any possibility, fail of eternal salvation; that "they whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved."—*Westminster Confession.* The man in whom that dogma has become intrenched, coming to the interpretation of the passages at the head of this paper, finds himself at once confronted with statements and implications that he cannot accept. He is therefore forced into a process of "hedging," and of exegetical maneuverings, if possible, to make the words and sentences here used mean something different from their first and most obvious sense. Probably no other portion of Scripture has ever given so much occasion to this kind of learned legerdemain. Evidently this doctrine of "perseverance" is a very great favorite, and is earnestly cherished by some who hold, rather loosely, some of the sterner doctrines of the more comprehensive system of which it is an integral part. It is very comfortable, when one has long been living without any recent assurance of the divine favor, to remember former experiences, and because of them to conclude that all will be well at last. It is said that Cromwell, when he saw that he was nearing his end, asked his chaplain, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, whether if a man had once been truly converted he could be finally lost, and having been assured that he certainly could not, he replied, "Then I am safe, for I know that I was once a child of God." Probably not many persons meet this case with such honest bluntness; but quite certainly not a few reason in the same way.

The doctrine of "perseverance"—that it is impossible for a converted person to fall away from Christ and be lost—is an

integral and inseparable part of the more extended system of absolute and unconditional predestination, which embodies the doctrine of the "divine decrees," the election of some to eternal life, and the absolutely certain dooming of all others to eternal death, and all because of God's good pleasure. The salvation of the elect being decreed, their effectual calling, regeneration, sanctification, and eternal glorification follow of course and necessarily, as the unfoldings of an eternal purpose. This system has the advantages of complete unity and of logical consistency of its parts, which are so closely compacted that the whole and all its parts must stand or fall together; but its first principles are not derived from the divine word, and its final outcome is too horrible to be accepted for a moment. The result reached by the sternest predestinarians is no doubt the only logical one after accepting the dogma of unconditional grace, and consequently of the indefectibility of the divine life in the soul. They are *monergists*, asserting that God alone performs in man the work of salvation, and that human agency is not admitted as a condition either to assure or defeat the purposes of almighty goodness; and that having begun the good work, he will never cease till it shall be completed in eternal salvation. Accordingly, it will not do to understand the strong expressions found in the passages before us as indicating any thing conditional in respect to personal salvation in Christ. And so in order to get rid of the plain meanings of these words and phrases has seemed to be the great business of many who have undertaken their exposition.

The manifest design of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to dissuade those to whom it is addressed from abandoning the profession of the Gospel, and going back again to Judaism. In doing this the writer examines the claims set forth by Christ, and by others for him, to be the promised and expected Messiah, the divinely ordained Priest of the better covenant, of which things the Levitical priesthood and the Sinaitic covenant were only shadows and prophetic symbols. And mingled with these arguments, and also coming after them, are the most earnest warnings and cogent entreaties, enforced by considerations of the fearful dangers that would be risked in the deprecated apostasy. Respecting the nature of the evils that must result from so doing, it is agreed by all that they would involve

the complete perdition of those who might experience them, for language could scarcely be rendered more direct and fearfully significant. The thought that is evidently present to the mind of the inspired writer is, such a form of apostasy from Christ as must involve its subject in complete and irretrievable spiritual ruin.

But who are the persons here spoken of as liable to this great danger, and what are their actual relations to Christ and the Gospel? Were they Christians, who had personally believed, and received in their own hearts the gifts of the Spirit, as seems to be implied in the language used? and if so, wherein consisted their danger? But because there are clear intimations in the words of the epistles that those addressed were in danger of utter perdition, the attempt is made with remarkable earnestness and persistence to show that they never had been truly converted. The desperateness of this attempt is, however, too obvious to escape attention, and the evidence that it is made under the stress of dogmatic necessity is manifest.

The persons in question had been "enlightened"—of course, by the Holy Spirit; had "tasted the heavenly gift," "the good word of God," and "the power of the world to come:" and yet it is by some gravely asserted that these terms describe some lower state than that of the feeblest and least advanced child of God. At this point Alford (who was not a Calvinist) remarks:

> All this is clearly contrary to the plainest sense of the terms here used. The writer even heaps up clause upon clause to show that no such shallow tasting is intended, and the whole contextual argument is against the view, for it is the very fact of those persons having virtually entered the spiritual life which makes it impossible to renew them afresh if they fall away. If they have never entered it, if they are unregenerate, what possible logic is it, or even common sense at all, to say that their shallow taste and partial apprehension makes it impossible to renew them?

And how could their coming to Christ, if they should come, be a "*renewing* again," if, indeed, they had never really and truly repented?

Professor Moses Stuart, whose commentary is much more exegetical than dogmatical, remarks at this place, that the words τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας, *those who were once enlightened*, do not in themselves (or necessarily) imply *saving illumination*,

"but illumination or instruction simply as to the principles of the Christian religion." No doubt the nature and extent of the experience indicated by the word in question (enlightened) must be ascertained from the implications of the accompanying words and phrases. Three forms of expression are here used, either as identical each with the others, or else as cumulatives, but all predicated of the same persons or characters; and respecting the second of these, γευσαμένους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου, *have tasted of the heavenly gift*, Stuart expressly declares, "It does not mean merely *to sup*, or simply *to apply for once to the palate*, so as just to perceive the taste of a thing, but it means *the full enjoyment*, *perception*, or *experience* of a thing." To *taste* death is to *experience* death (Matt. xvi, 28; John viii, 52); and to *taste* that the Lord is gracious (1 Peter ii, 3) is to experience his saving power. Peter at Joppa, praying upon the house-top at noon-time, *became very hungry*, ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος, and *desired to eat*, literally, *to taste*, γεύσασθαι; and certainly a "very hungry" man would desire something more than simply to touch his tongue to the coveted food. Dr. Moll (in Lange's "Bibel-werk") remarks of the phrase, *once enlightened*, that "the context, and the use of the word (chap. x, 32), show that the word here denotes spiritual enlightenment, reflected through the preaching of the Gospel (Eph. iii, 9);" and respecting the sense of γευσαμένους, he follows Tholuck and "the more recent [evangelical] interpreters" in declaring "against every special interpretation," and points to 2 Cor. ix, 15 (*q. v.*), where salvation in Christ is called "'the unspeakable gift' of grace." And he lays stress on the emphatic placing of γευσαμένους at the beginning of the clause. The construction making the word signify a "practical experience, by actual personal appropriation and enjoyment," he further remarks, was "perhaps dictated by the idea of an enjoyment out of the fullness of the heavenly riches of grace." It is evident, therefore, if words and phrases are to be construed according to their usual significance, and the manifest design of the discourse in which they are used, that the several participles here found are intended to designate a state of real spiritual regeneration; and since such persons are warned to guard against apostatizing, the possibility that they may do so seems to be conceded and assured.

The exact sense of the terms here employed to describe the spiritual condition of the persons whose cases are brought under notice must be considered. And here it should be observed, that by the misleadings of theological predilections, or from some other cause, the authors of the accepted version of the Bible failed at this point to bring out the precise sense of the original. These veral terms—φωτισθέντας, *enlightened;* γευσαμένους, *tasted;* μετόχους γενηθέντας, *made partakers;* γευσαμένους, *tasted;* παραπεσόντας, *fell away*—are all alike past participles, each implying something actually done or happened, but which also continues in its results and consequences to the present, and extends forward indefinitely. They indicate, therefore, not simply historical facts, but likewise continuous conditions, which are also perpetuated forces with still incompleted outcomes. The persons spoken of, whether real or supposed, come into the case as those who have been "enlightened," have "tasted," have "been made partakers," and have "fallen away." The tense of these participles indicates what, having actually taken place, as actions or happenings, in some past time, have also brought their subjects into other and continuous conditions and relations, and each of the things mentioned is equally real—accomplished and yet abiding—the last named being no more contingent than any one of the others—the *falling away* standing precisely as all the rest, as something not problematical and future, but as real and already effected. The "if" (chap. vi, 6) in our English Version, by which the *falling away* is made to appear as not actual but contingent, is entirely without authority, and it clearly perverts the passage from its obvious sense.

Upon this palpable mistranslation English-speaking Calvinists have attempted, apparently much to their own satisfaction, to turn aside the force of the argument derived from this passage against the cherished dogma of "final perseverance." Even so respectable a writer as the late Professor Cowles, of Oberlin (see his Commentary *in loco*), although he had confessed that nothing corresponding to the particle "if" is found in the original, builds all his argument against the actual "falling away" of any real Christian upon the hypothetical character of this warning. Respecting the spiritual character and condition of the persons under notice, he grants, as many

of his Calvinistic associates do not, that "the descriptive points put here, when construed fairly, seem to me to describe a case of real conversion." He further concedes, in respect to the sense of the falling away, that "beyond question this word for falling away signifies a fatal moral fall—a real apostasy from truth and from God." And how, it will then be asked, after these two essential points have been conceded, are we to avoid the conclusion that such persons are precisely the ones of whom all the fearful menaces that follow are predicated? Here it is:

> It cannot escape the notice of the careful reader, that as bearing upon the direct question, WILL *all true saints be finally saved?* the affirmative testimony is positive, explicit, and unqualified [not so, for all is *conditioned* on continued fidelity], while the negative testimony is hypothetical, inferential to this effect: *If* they do not watch, and pray, and trust, they will not be saved. *If* they fall away they are lost. But this is not the same as to say that any of them *will* fall away and so will be lost.*

Such a statement, coming from such a source, is an inexplicable enigma; nor can we conceive how any one, who was neither dishonest nor demented—and surely no one will suspect its author of either—could so palpably misconstrue obvious truth. And this strange scheme our author elaborates by saying, that in effectuating the salvation of free moral agents the influence of fear is a moral necessity, and therefore it is secured by hypothetical threatenings of results and consequences which the Spirit that inspired them knew, and which they who have found out God's "secret will" have come to know, can never be realized. If a human ruler should use such devices would not men speak of him as insincere, untruthful, Jesuitical?

Professor Stuart, though as an hereditary Calvinist he never could quite consent to part with this last and most cherished of the family jewels, was still both too well learned and too candid to allow himself to be deluded with such sophistry, and is manifestly impatient of it. After considering these and other warnings addressed by God to his people, with the threat of eternal damnation as the sure result of disobedience, he proceeds to say:

> Is this penalty *really* threatened; or is it only a *pretense* of threatening, something spoken merely *in terrorem?* Can we

* Commentary on Hebrews, p. 160.

hesitate as to the answer which must be given to this question? But if we admit the penalty to be really threatened, then the implication is, that Christians are addressed as exposed to incur the penalty of the divine law by sinning. In our text, they are surely addressed as exposed to fall into a state in which there is no hope of a renewal by repentance. Whatever may be true, in the divine purposes, as to the final salvation of all those who are once truly regenerated, yet nothing can be plainer than that the sacred writers have every-where addressed saints in the same manner as they would address those whom they considered as constantly exposed to fall away and to perish forever. It cannot be denied, that all the warnings and awful comminations (directed against cases of defection) are addressed to Christians in the New Testament which could be addressed to them supposing them to be liable, every hour, to sin beyond the hope of being renewed to repentance. Whatever *theory* may be adopted in explanation of this subject, as a matter of *fact* there can be no doubt that Christians are to be solemnly and earnestly warned against the danger of apostasy and consequent final perdition. What else is the object of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, except a warning against apostasy?

The spectacle of such minds—and these are only samples of a great multitude—struggling in the sloughs and quicksands of an evanishing creed, is neither agreeable nor assuring as to the superiority of reason over prepossessions. To meet the arguments drawn from the warnings and threatenings of God respecting men's liability to and the fearful consequences of apostasy, by saying, "They *may* fall, but they *will* not," and by pleading the compatibility of the *possibility of ruin* with the *certainty of salvation*, is a kind and degree of sophistry that a rational mind would never tolerate except through the perverting influence of a long-cherished form of belief that lives on in spite of common sense. The question is not one that involves possible differences of opinion respecting either the power of God to save his people or his fidelity to his own promises, but of his purposes, and of the practical economy of his grace toward men. It might not become any one to deny God's power to save every creature that he has made, including "the angels that kept not their first estate;" but he has not assured us that he would do so, but quite the contrary. And if the angels abode not in the truth, and if man made in the image of God fell away from his high estate, may not a man who was conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, though born again, fall

back into his former state? Christ is, as to his power and the merits of his death, able to save all men; but as man's Redeemer he is declared to be able to save all that will come to him, and no more. He is also able to keep his own to everlasting life, *provided* they remain faithful unto death. And to ordinarily intelligent minds the interposition of the condition practically shuts up the power-to-do within its limitation.

As an inseparable part of the conception of the freedom of the human will, in all the actually saving operations of divine grace, all who accept that belief must consent to the reality of man's probationary state until his career on earth is accomplished. As at the beginning his own willing acceptance of Christ and his grace was a condition essential to his becoming a child of God, so only by the steady maintenance of that choice can his relations to Christ and his own spiritual life be maintained. As he was first of all saved by faith, which in willing obedience laid hold on Christ—the human will co-operating with the divine—so must he abide in the same faith that he may also continue in Christ. If, indeed, man is an active agent, and not entirely a passive subject, in the working out of his salvation, then the failure of his required activity must also result in the loss of the soul's salvation. To this view of man's truly probationary state while in the world the many and solemn warnings in the Scriptures against backslidings and apostasies seem to respond; and, indeed, without conceding the reality of the deprecated danger, it would be very difficult to defend the appeals uttered against the suspicion of being intentionally false alarms. It is not, then, we say again, a question of God's power, but of man's free agency, and of God's method of dealing with men, with whom, each for himself, through all life's probation—unless converted men cease to be free agents—rests the fearful possibility of shipwreck and perdition. This is not a merely speculative and barren article of belief, but itself an inseparable part of the all-comprehensive doctrine of the freedom of the will under the active operations of the Gospel, into which the soul is lifted by the universally efficacious power of the Spirit, and in which man is appointed to work out his own salvation *with fear and trembling.* Because they are taught to see all men within the range of possible ruin, Christian ministers should be incessant in their warnings and admo-

nitions, and in watchful guardianship over the flock of Christ, to care for the erring, and with trembling solicitude to point out the danger of backsliding, "lest it should happen that the Church of Christ (which is his spouse), or any member thereof, should take any hurt or hinderance by reason of their (your) negligence."

If, then, we are constrained to believe, on the authority of God's word, to which both the intellect and the heart of man readily responds, that during our present state of probation it is fearfully possible that saved souls may fall away, and come again under condemnation, it becomes a matter of lively though painful interest to ascertain the character and conditions of their changed estate. And here, first of all, we are confronted with the statement that "it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance." Accepting this declaration in its full and unqualified sense, some sects of the early Church utterly refused to re-admit to their communion any who had once apostatized; but the "Catholics" were less severe in their judgment and discipline. To very many, in later times, the absolute exclusion of all who had openly denied Christ has seemed to be a harsh conclusion, and the attempt has been made, with only indifferent success, to mitigate the force of the word ἀδύνατον, *impossible*, so as to make it equivalent to *very difficult*. Here we will again adopt Alford's putting of the case:

> But it is entirely clear that the word cannot be made to bear any such interpretation; it means *impossible*, and nothing else. The writer is putting the case in a form the strongest possible. He speaks first of an advanced stage of spiritual life that has been attained to; then of a *deliberate apostasy*, an expressed enmity toward Him who had before been loved—a going over to the ranks of his bitter enemies and revilers, and an exposing him to shame in the sight of the world. Of such persons, such apostates from being saints, the writer simply says that it is *impossible* to bestow on them a fresh renewal to repentance. 'There remaineth *no more—οὐκέτι—not yet—no longer*—a sacrifice for sins' [other] than the one they had gone through and rejected—they are in a [perpetual] state of crucifying the Son of God; the putting him to shame is their enduring condition.

The *impossibility* inheres in the nature of the case.

All this, though very strongly stated, seems to be as indisputable as it is strong. Since the impossibility is of God's own

ordaining, it does not seem likely that he will of his own infinite mercy and almighty power reverse his own decrees, and in spite of the sinner's self save him from the curse that he has incurred. Both the promises and the threatenings of God are without repentance. If salvation shall come to any sinner hitherto impenitent or backsliding, it must be the procuring of the one and only sacrifice, the blood of the cross appropriated by faith; and, apart from its saving power, there is nothing to be hoped for, either from "God's infinite mercy," or the "strong working of his Spirit," "for there is no other name [or way] under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." But this impossibility does not apply to the efficacy of his grace, even in respect to apostate backsliders, if such may by any means turn, in humble penitence, to Him against whom they have so grievously offended; nor is any one authorized to declare that the offices of the Holy Spirit, operating to render effectual "the grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men," are absolutely denied to the farthest-gone backslider, though the ground of hope in such a case is very narrow.

The reason given for this hopeless "impossibility" (chapter x, 26) is because "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin." Salvation is, in every case, in and through Christ's blood, and if that is rejected, that ends the matter. But the translation of ἀναστανροῦντας ἑαυτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God*, is neither a happy nor a correct one. The participle in that sentence, ἀναστανροῦντας, which is the principal word, carries with it the idea of a perpetuated course of acting, and has the qualifying force of the temporal particle "while" instead of "seeing," for which there is no distinct word in the original. Dr. Whedon, after duly correcting the translations, very fittingly remarks:

> It is obvious on the face of an exact translation that the passage is describing *an existent class of cases.* The aorist or historic tenses [of the preceding participles] show what experiences these cases have passed through; the present tense [of the latter one—*crucifying again*] shows what they are now doing, and so persistently and flagrantly doing, that it is found [because of their persistency] impossible to renew them again unto repentance.

The commentators have seemed to be not a little perplexed by the language and imagery of the last part of the paragraph,

that is, the eighth verse, and especially the last clause—*ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν*, "whose end is to be burned"—literally, *of which the end* (tendency) *is toward burning*. In verse 7 the fruitful ground is said to receive "blessing"—*εὐλογία*, *praise, commendation*—and applied to faithful Christians, as it was evidently designed, this simply reaffirms what is so often expressed in Scripture—that the well-doers shall be commended. In verse 8 we have the counterpart and opposite—the unfruitful ground, whose produce was only evil, is *κατάρας ἐγγύς*, *cursed nearly* —next door to cursed. It is well known that in all Bible lands ground that is not cultivated at first produces only noxious plants (thorns and thistles), and that it also becomes more and more sterile, the action of the sun during the dry season literally burning up the soil, and bringing the ground to hopeless barrenness. And so it must happen to those who shall reject Christ. "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways," and the same ministrations of grace, by which the faithful are rendered more and more fruitful, to the disobedient become the occasions of increased spiritual barrenness. It is thus seen that the tendencies among which the backslider subsists are entirely away from every thing that is good, and therefore, to all natural appearances, renewed repentance and reclamation have to such become impossible. The early and the latter rains denude the soil, and the sunshine burns it to a more hopeless sterility. Only some *extraordinary* work of the Holy Spirit, some miracle of grace, can rescue such a soul.

The whole tone and spirit of the passages under notice indicate the almost absolute hopelessness of the case of those whose possible condition is here considered. Having sinned willfully —*Ἑκουσίως γὰρ ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν*, *for we sinning willingly* (with voluntary consent)—the whole spiritual nature passes over to the evil, the reverse of the transition of the soul in its conversion to God by the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The thoroughness of the soul's transition in its spiritual resurrection, when old things pass away and all things become new, is indicated in the evident laboring of the language of Scripture in the attempts made to express it. It is coming out of darkness into the light—a new creation—life from the dead. To fall from such an altitude is much more than to return to the original state of carnality and want of spiritual life; it is to plunge

into corresponding depths of positive and intensified ungodliness, "and the last case of that man is worse than the first." The hopelessness of the backslider's case is, that the grace provided for man's salvation has been tried upon him, and rendered ineffectual by its deliberate rejection. There is only one way to be saved, and that has been deliberately cast away. To them the blessed truth of Christ's Gospel had become a subject of personal and experimental knowledge, and to such, therefore, unbelief was much more than the natural blindness of the carnal mind—it was a perverse choosing of darkness rather than light—a voluntary and consciously purposed transfer of the soul's allegiance to the adversary—the surrender of the swept and garnished house to the sevenfold defilement of the apostate state. The text does not declare absolutely that such a one is beyond the power of almighty grace; it simply says that while he continues to recrucify Christ, to tread under foot the Son of God, and to count the blood of the covenant *wherewith he was sanctified* an unholy thing, it is impossible that he shall be restored to repentance. But granting the *possibility*, in the alternative case, that God is able by means of the unknown, uncovenanted riches of his mercy to still reach the farthest-gone apostate, have we any assurance that he ever does or will so act? Perhaps he may, but apparently not often. The most fearful sight in our world is that of the apostate, without God and without hope—an Esau selling his birthright for a mess of pottage; a Cain going out from the presence of the Lord, not to return again; a Judas betraying his Master for a price, and afterward, stricken with remorse, hanging himself. Such persons go beforehand to judgment, and are virtually doomed to eternal perdition while they yet live.

The uncertainty that surrounds the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the unknown condition of those to whom it was primarily addressed, make it impossible with certainty to interpret these passages by the facts that first elicited them. It is, however, not difficult to understand that the Hebrew Christians were often in circumstances in which the admonitions and exhortations here given would be especially appropriate.

The season that followed Paul's last visit to Jerusalem would probably supply all the conditions requisite to what is there

implied. Previous to that time the Church in that city had suffered comparatively little from persecuting violence, and very many had accepted Christ as the Messiah who still remained Jews, and expected to do so. But it now became evident that the new faith was clearly incompatible with the old, as it was authoritatively interpreted by the scribes and Pharisees; and to the believers were presented the alternatives to renounce their Christian profession or else submit to excommunication from the synagogue, with all that was implied in that sentence. That not a few chose the former alternative is only too probable; and in such a time of fiery trials, just such admonitions as are here given were called for, and especially opportune. And these things also apply with equal force and fullness in every case where believers are tempted, whether by fears or favors, to depart from Christ, either openly or only virtually. Seasons of persecution are usually seasons of apostasy, and a martyr age seldom fails to be a time of backslidings; and therefore the fearful picture of the doom of the apostate should never be entirely effaced from the spiritual consciousness. Nor are the temptations to this fearful form of sin confined to times of persecution. The tempter, who would have diverted the Son of God from his work of redeeming the race by offering him the "kingdoms of this world," has, since then, plied the same temptation with much greater success. Wealth, power, pleasure, honor, ease, are the rewards that he offers, sometimes for the open rejection of Christ, but often the name may still be retained, if only the essential spirit of Christ all be put aside. Not a few, it may be feared, have thus "sinned willfully," and so the light in them has become darkness, the end whereof is eternal death.

These two passages are generally accepted, no doubt correctly, as illustrating the doctrine of the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mark iii, 29–31. If there is a form of sin, or condition of sinning, that is irreversible and unpardonable, its relations must extend to the Holy Spirit and his offices and influences. The impossibility of renewing to repentance supposes the absence of those spiritual powers in man which can come to him only by the Spirit's ministries; and as these are in the first place universal, "bringing salvation to all men," their absence at some later stage would imply that sin against

the Holy Ghost had resulted in his withdrawal. This subject is treated somewhat at length, and with characteristic ability in the last chapter of Julius Müller's "Christian Doctrine of Sin," with which, in a condensed form, we will close this paper:

In considering the sin against the Holy Ghost we must ever remember that it presupposes a very full and thorough development of the moral consciousness, and we may add of the religious consciousness likewise; because the moral consciousness cannot be fully developed without recognizing the fundamental truths of religion. It presupposes this, indeed, as something experienced at an earlier period in the person's life; but it must have been there for some time, and it must influence the entire subsequent development, however deeply it may fall away again from it, making sins more heinous, wickedness more thorough, and unaccountably far greater than otherwise they would have been. . . . Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is not only the greatest, it is the most spiritual of sins. . . . It can attain this intensity only where the inner life has previously been in very close contact with moral goodness [holiness].

Respecting the relation of the passages under consideration to the doctrine he is discussing, that writer further remarks:

This enlightenment (Heb. vi. 4) cannot be distinguished from regeneration; and we can hardly doubt that the writer of that epistle had in his mind in this passage the same sin as that which Christ calls blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. His words, moreover, clearly show that he is referring to persons who had by regeneration become partakers of Christ's redemption. No expositor would ever have dreamed of taking these words to denote a merely superficial religious state had not his theological views obliged him.

As to the unpardonableness of this form of sin, he remarks concisely, and with a just discrimination, guarding it against the imputation of a special decree of wrath, and showing that here, as every-where else where it occurs, man is the author of his own perdition:

It is not that divine grace is absolutely refused to any one who in true penitence asks forgiveness of this sin, but he who commits it never fulfills the subjective conditions upon which forgiveness is possible, because the aggravation of sin to this ultimatum destroys in him all susceptibility of repentance. THE WAY OF RETURN TO GOD IS CLOSED AGAINST NO ONE WHO DOES NOT CLOSE IT AGAINST HIMSELF.

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

Art. VII.—SOUTH-WESTERN CHINA AND PROSPECTIVE TRADE ROUTES.

[Second Paper].

The occurrences narrated near the end of our first paper (in the July number) are matters of much historical interest; and, in relation to our subject, deserve the space accorded to them, although, as in case of the Mekong exploration, they are not connected with any scheme for improved trade facilities now demanding attention. The interest, in a practical sense, which once attached to the Bhamo route* and its possibilities belongs only to the past. According to the testimony of nearly all the European travelers who have explored it (Baber, Margary, Gill, Colquhoun) there can be no expectation of its becoming, in a new era of Asiatic trade, a channel of prime importance for communication between China and the British possessions. The present road, or path, rather, traversed only by pack animals, or the peasantry afoot, with their loads, which is now in the worst possible condition, for "nothing is repaired in Yunnan," might, it is said, with a better selection of gradients, be much improved, but could never be made fit for wheel carriages. Mr. Baber treats the idea of constructing a railroad over this route, which has been before the imagination of some Englishmen, with the ridicule of irony. The deep abysses of the Salween, Mekong, and other rivers, with numerous high mountain ranges, seven of them between Bhamo and Tali-fu, varying from seven thousand to eight thousand feet in height, have to be crossed. No desirable route can run in this direction, and "the object should be," says the authority just cited, "to attain some town of importance south of Yung-chang (principal trade mart of western Yunnan) and Tali-fu, such as Shun-ning, from which both these cities could be reached by *ascending the valleys* instead of crossing all the mountain ranges." From the configuration of the country throughout Yunnan all tolerably easy roads must run north and south, a general fact which should enter into all calculations on the choice of a site for a grand route, whether by wagon road or railroad, into Yunnan from without. Mr. Baber further observes

* See map in July number.

that were the present Bhamo road improved all the way to Yunnan-fu, then the discovery will be made that all foreign goods can be brought in with ease and rapidity from Canton (by way of the Si-kiang), "and that Yunnan-fu is only four hundred miles from the China Sea." Reference is here made, of course, to the Song-koi route, as "the simple and evident approach to eastern Yunnan, loath as most Englishmen are to admit it." Baron Richtoven makes the same statement on this subject, and goes further in affirming that the eastern section is quite the best part of the province, and most promising for trade. It must be remembered that Richtoven, when treating of this part of the country, speaks only by information derived from M. Dupuis, whom he met at Shanghai in 1872, after the latter's tour of exploration on the Song-koi River, though he listened with a mind so fully informed as to be quite capable of framing a judgment on the facts reported, and might reasonably be regarded as an impartial observer. With a railroad ascending from the Song-koi basin to the Meng-tzu plain, and thence by an easy way open to the capital, nothing could compete with this route in his view. It would absorb the foreign trade of the province, though that of Sze-Chuen will always naturally find its outlet by the Yang-tse, and that of Kwang-Si by the Canton River. As to Yunnan, however, "all the advantages are on the side of the Song-koi River route, and all the disadvantages on that of the Bhamo (or Burmese) route, and also of any other that has been or may be devised to enter Yunnan from the west or south-west." * This will, of course, be taken in some quarters as simply a French view of the subject. Dr. Anderson is inclined to speak more favorably of the Bhamo route, so far as he knew it, than the travelers above mentioned, and thinks that the difficulties, even in the construction of a railway, would not be insuperable, though he regards the valley of the Shwaylee as offering the better way for such a road when it shall be demanded. But that day he thinks is yet distant. Simply to draw the trade from the Mekong, Song-koi, and Canton (Si-kiang) rivers would not be an object adequate to the undertaking. Such a road is needed,

* Reference is here made to Baron Richtoven's article in Markham's "Ocean Highways," January, 1874, on "Recent Attempts to Find a Direct Trade Route to South-western China."

in his view, only as it can connect with a great system of railways throughout China. European enterprise, however, is not likely to wait till the best can be attained; but, so far as permitted, will still make the attempt at the present point of contact in the south-west, should the venture be at all warranted and a suitable avenue be found, to penetrate the country with railroads, stimulate the development of this section, and establish for it an active foreign commerce.

The limits of this article forbid such enlargement upon the character and resources of Yunnan, the section of country especially in view, as any adequate statement of commercial prospects in this region demands, or as the immediate interest of the subject suggests. Baber says about this province: "If a Chinese of average intelligence and education be asked what he knows of Yunnan, he will reply that it is rich in gold and silver, copper, and precious stones; that it is a long way off; that traveling is very difficult throughout the province, as shown by the proverb *Ch'ih Yunnan-k'u* (Eat the bitterness of Yunnan); that it is a very unhealthy country; that the inhabitants speak a very intelligible language,* and that it is cool in summer." As already indicated, the trend of the great mountain ranges is from north to south, diminishing in height from seventeen to twelve thousand feet above sea-level in the north to eight and seven thousand in the south, and giving place to undulating tracts and plains which increase in extent and level character toward the Gulf of Siam, though the ridges themselves are more distinctly prolonged through the Indo-Chinese peninsula, like the fingers from the palm of the hand. There are subsidiary ranges running east and west, and fertile valleys within the hills; these valleys being generally inclosed on all sides except the south, where the usual slope of the country leaves them more or less open, a condition which adds to their fertility. The main body of the province forms a

* This statement probably arises from the fact that the powerful military chief, Wu-san-kwei, who received the province with title of king from the Tartar dynasty in the seventeenth century, compelled the people, on pain of death, to learn and use the language spoken by his best troops, which was substantially the mandarin colloquial of Peking. The use of the language has been transmitted from generation to generation, and is especially prevalent in the western section, so that a traveler from the imperial capital, after passing through a jargon of dialects, finds himself at home on the far-distant border.

plateau averaging from five to six thousand feet in elevation, which is a lower terrace of the great Thibetan table-land. Two huge chasms running southward make the beds of the river Salween, or Lu-kiang, which flows into the Burmese Gulf at Maulmain, and of the Mekong, or Kiou-lang-kiang (River of Nine Dragons), as it is called in the north. From the center and eastern sections flow the Song-koi and Si-kiang. The northern boundary is swept by the Yang-tse, or Chin-cha-kiang (Gold-sand River), its head water, in its wide semicircular bend southward from the mountains of Thibet. The northern section consists, in general, of the wild and lofty mountains above referred to, with a sparse population, who live on maize, rice being a luxury, with tea and tobacco of poor quality, and with no commerce or industry. De Carné draws a sad picture of the extreme desolation observed most of the way from Yunnan-fu to the Yang-tse in the north-eastern section. "There is nothing to be seen but traces of misery and signs of barrenness." "Monotonous mountains, and nothing but mountains, without a vestige of green, and bare and red as though they had been cast out of the furnace below." Gill, on the other hand, descending from the mountains of Thibet, gives a very pleasing impression of the fertility and prosperity witnessed in the extreme north-west, furnishing some exception to the general representation just made of the northern part of the province.

The summary result of observations on the products and wants of the province is, that at present *material for clothing*, silk or cotton, either raw or manufactured, is the chief need. Food enough is raised to supply the demands of the population. Margary says: "If only an easy road lay ready between Yunnan-fu and Bhamo, a perfect flood of British goods would be swallowed up at once for the Kwei-Chou and Sze-Chuen markets. The merchants of the latter province would naturally prefer to buy at Yunnan and float their goods down the Yang-tse, rather than incur the risk and expense of the difficult ascent from Hankow up the I-chang gorge.* Native cloth is so dear in Kwei-Chou and Yunnan that the people cannot afford to buy it, and their ragged appearance is due not so much to poverty as to the price of cloth being beyond their means.

* An opinion which may count against Richtoven's, quoted on page 744.

There would be an immense sale if only Manchester goods could be cheaply conveyed. There is great eagerness to learn the price of any foreign productions." As to exports, the only products, besides minerals, which promise to largely supply a foreign market, are *Puerh tea* and *opium*. The tea of Puerh, a district in the extreme south-west, has been of old renowned throughout China. It bears a very high price, through accumulation of duties, as it is transported to Peking and elsewhere, and is highly esteemed for its refreshing quality, which does not affect the nerves like other tea. When properly prepared it will undergo, as reported, seven infusions without loss of strength or delicious flavor. Opium is cultivated in Yunnan to a large and increasing extent, and is of a quality superior to that produced elsewhere in China. It is said to constitute one third of the productions of the province, and appears to thrive on every kind of soil, from the low sandy border of the Yang-tse to the rocky heights of the west. Gill represents the Yunnanese as proverbially addicted to the drug; and Colquhoun refers to the deplorable results produced by its use among the Chinese inhabitants (the aborigines being as yet more free from it), and especially the mandarins, who, whenever he met them, besought him for some remedy to cure the habit. If the importation of Indian opium into China were stopped, that of Yunnan would take its place as a great staple in the market.

We have already referred to the mineral products of the south-eastern section of the province. Minerals constitute the distinguishing wealth of Yunnan; and if all that some have anticipated as to the resources of the mines were true, this country might properly be an object of most zealous interest for European enterprise. We take more precisely the testimony on this subject. Baron Richtoven says: "Although iron ore occurs in almost every province, and Kwei-Chou is perhaps the richest country in the world in quicksilver, there is, with these two exceptions, a great scarcity of metals every-where in China outside of Yunnan." Copper, he says, is the chief product: it is carried into Sze-Chuen, into the Annamese territory, and the Shan States; while in prosperous times large quantities have been been sent to Peking. The principal supplies have come from Hwui-li-chau, in the northern part of the metalliferous belt. "The low price at which it is produced makes it

to appear that the ores are of superior quality and readily accessible." Garnier says there are forty mines of copper in Yunnan, the greater number being in the south. In 1850, the copper tax paid at Peking amounted to 6,000,000 kilograms, the price of 60 kilos. (or 100 lbs.) of copper being 55 francs. The copper mines are worked by capital from the government, (100,000,000 taels, that is, silver ounces, being advanced in 1850). The government reserves a right to purchase a quantity at a fixed price. Silver has not paid over 40,000 kilos. annual tax. The principal mines of it are Lo-ma and Mien-ho-hoa-ti, north of Tong-tchouen, Ngan-nan, on the Yang-tse, and Hoay-long, west of Lo-kiang. Gold is found in much less quantity. It is produced at Makang, near Ngan-nan, in the south near Talan, and at Ma-kon, in the frontier territory between Li-gnan and Tonquin. Very few gold ornaments are to be seen among the people. Gold leaf is prepared at Tali for the Bhamo market. Garnier knew of but one tin mine, that at Ko-kiou, east of Li-gnan (probably the same as the Kuo-chia described by Rocher). This mine is renowned, and has supplied China with tin from time immemorial. The more numerous lead and zinc mines are found especially in the north near Tong-tchouen and Ping-y-hien, furnishing the government annually 200,000 to 400,000 kilos. of zinc and 100,000 kilos. of lead. The fourteen mines of iron, chiefly in the lake region, are lightly taxed and yield little to the government. De Carné refers chiefly to the mines of copper, silver, zinc, tin, and lead, some of great extent (one employing in peaceful times 1,200 men simply to drain off the water), in the extreme north, and to the iron-beds near Talan and elsewhere on the road followed by the expedition toward the capital. Garnier conceived a high, not to say extravagant, idea of the wealth of the province in metals as an exportable product. He declared that under the conditions of "more liberal laws, better means of working the mines, and free access to a European market, Yunnan would be the most important contributor of metals in the world's commerce." Colquhoun, who did not stand in that favorable relation with the government which the French visitors enjoyed, could ascertain but little about the mines. The mines are mostly under government surveillance, and the officials were very reticent. "All we were able to elicit was, that a number

of mines shown on Garnier's map are now closed." He judged that the others were not very remunerative as now worked. A disturbed state of the country generally puts the mines in the hands of the aborigines who inhabit the hill districts, and the Chinese who work them can only make them productive under the peaceful supremacy of a stable government. The problem of the future is therefore largely political: the question is, whether the Chinese government will be able, under any conditions of improved trade routes, to maintain an effective authority, or whether, in the course of events, any European power will exercise predominant and regulative control in this territory. It is a question, also, whether in existing political relations, which are most likely to continue, the Chinese can be persuaded to adopt the efficient methods and appliances in mining known to European nations. In a spirit of paternal solicitude, commendable in some sense, but consonant with the traditional immobility of the Celestial system, the imperial government has sought rather to restrain than promote the zeal of the inhabitants in the working of metals lest their attention should be too much diverted from the labors of agriculture. With new governmental enterprise, if it is possible to inspire it, a prolonged state of tranquillity, recovery of the population to till the fields and work the mines, Yunnan would manifestly offer a ready market for many requisites of town and village life, agricultural implements, and especially mining tools and machinery, in addition to textile fabrics, from distant parts.

The several classes of population in Yunnan—the Chinese, Shans, and other aborigines of the very numerous subdued and wild tribes,* and the Mohammedans, who continue to flourish since the quelling of the rebellion in 1874, though they probably suffered the most severely in the conflict which is thought to have destroyed half the population of the province —all offer most interesting features for ethnological study; but we must omit further reference to them. We must also pass by any descriptive account of important cities, as Yunnan-sen, Tali-fu,† and others, as likewise observations upon the

* A Chinese authority gives a list of eighty-two aboriginal tribes identical with, or allied to these, in the neighboring provinces on the east.

† The China Inland missionaries established themselves in Tali-fu in 1881, and in Yunnan-sen in 1882. The affix *sen*, here used in the latter name, signifies

country life of the people, their manners and customs, the state of religion, the political relations of the province, and character of the officials. Much information on these topics is contained, besides the other works cited, in Colquhoun's "Across Chrysê."* We can do little more, in recalling these volumes now, than indicate, in part, the course of the author's journey, and the one conclusion of recognized value which he urgently presents as to the best location for a commercial route. The work consists mostly of a narrative written up from day to day in the course of the journey; is rather loosely put together, and suffers much from want of revision and condensation; but the facts detailed are interesting and important, and this account is the only European source of information for much of the route traversed.

Mr. Colquhoun, who had been connected with an English government mission to Zimmé (Kiang-mai, or Cheung-mai),† in reference to rights and privileges of British-Burmese foresters, and had become much interested in the possibilities of developing British trade with south-west China, undertook this journey, accompanied by a friend, at private expense, from Canton up the Si-kiang, or West-river, through the province of Kwang-Si and the southern section of Yunnan, designing to reach Maulmain or Rangoon through the Burmese Shan States. The journey was begun in February, 1882. A *ho-tau*, or river-boat, was chartered with the necessary equipment, embracing arms for defense against the river pirates, for which purpose also a government gun-boat, frequently changed at successive points, acted as escort. Passports and serviceable letters to magistrates on the way enabled him to travel *en mandarin*. Besides the instruments necessary for scientific observations, from which charts and maps were constructed, a pho-

"capital city." Yunnan is also a *fu* city, or one of the first class. The affixes *t'ing*, *chau*, and *hsien*, when used, denote respectively cities of the second, third, and fourth classes.

* See page 563. We specially refer the reader for a very full and interesting account of the Shans and Kakhyens of the western hills to the reports of Dr. Anderson, noted in the July number (page 569).

† There is great confusion of names in maps and accounts of these countries, arising from the various terms used by different nationalities and the different ways of spelling to represent the sound. A table given in Colquhoun's book noticed on page 755 well illustrates this variation as to the names of tribes.

tographic apparatus was taken, which, though the display of it excited unpleasant curiosity and hostility in some places, was, for the most part, freely used, and has furnished most of the illustrations which abound in the book. Not much has been known about the province of Kwang-Tung west of Canton, and still less about Kwang-Si. In the latter province, though Colquhoun's personal observation scarcely extended beyond the river, poverty seemed to prevail among the people: "the country being mountainous, bare, and barren, with but a small area fit for cultivation;" the best part south of the river. A small estimate is put, by our author, upon the number of the population. Kwang-Si was the original seat of the Taiping rebellion, and has an evil reputation. It is here deemed "the most dangerous of all the Chinese provinces" for a traveler. "Missionaries" seemed to be an object of odium. At some places the travelers thought it not prudent to land, though some instances of hospitality and pleasant intercourse with the people are recorded. With all the poverty, however, school-houses were seen in every place, some, at least, well constructed, and temples are numerous. By the government officials the travelers were courteously received, but these evidently stand in fear of the populace. As an effect of the Taiping and Yunnan rebellions trade had much diminished on the river, that of Yunnan going to the Yang-tse, but is now reviving. Wuchau is the most thriving place commercially. Navigation is difficult at many points, and for the proper development of trade improvement of the river channel is necessary; but there is no hope of real prosperity till a stronger government is established. On the south bank points were observed which are the termini of fairly easy trade routes with Pak-hoi and other places on the Tonquin gulf. In Yunnan, the Si-kiang and Song-koi drain about the same territory. A railroad successfully established in the region of the latter would, of course, determine the direction of trade in its favor.

Pêsê, a border town, situated on rising ground in a fork near the head of the Si-kiang (or of the southern branch, which in this tour is properly regarded as the main stream), is the most thriving place above Wuchau. The houses are well built. A stronger and better type of people had been observed as soon as this region was entered. The prefect received the

travelers graciously, spoke well of the Catholic missionaries,* and made his guests (for they were entertained at the yâmen) a present of two sedan chairs for the overland journey in Yunnan. The *Chen-t'ai*, or brigadier-general, Li-hsin-kü, commander of the garrison, who had rendered renowned service in suppressing the Mohammedan rebellion, also treated them with frankness and courtesy, and gave them letters to his friends in different towns. Colquhoun found the officials generally, in the course of his journey, lacking in candor, and either densely ignorant or very chary of information about the country. Entering Yunnan, nine days' road-travel brought him to Kwangnan, on the plateau, where "cold, piercing blasts" greeted the party, now at the end of March. Thence they passed southward to Kai-hua, on the Tsin-ho, or Clear River of the French, branch of the Song-koi, a city with broad, paved streets, "the most interesting place yet seen," full of the aborigines of various races. The book abounds in notices of these tribes and illustrations of their costumes; though it lacks a thorough and connected ethnological account of them. At Meng-tzu, *entrepôt* for the Manhao trade, on a plain of 3,882 feet altitude, it was learned that the Song-koi above Manhao is so difficult of navigation, and has so bad a reputation for miasma, that the travelers leave their canoes and carry up their packs on mules and horses to Meng-tzu and Yuen-kiang. In the latter place, and in Li-gnan, Colquhoun saw far less prosperity and promise for the future than the French reported. At Talan, a walled city of solid European-like structure, surrounded by an amphitheater of hills richly terraced with rice-fields, a very marked hospitality was shown, which, indeed, in greater or less degree, had greeted the travelers throughout their journey in Yunnan; and here, "wandering through the crowded streets, we every-where met with courtesy, yet no European had been seen here since the French expedition." On the road "we met a string of over two hundred oxen, besides a number of horses and mules, laden with teas from Puerh and cotton from Laos. Huge caravans carrying these articles were daily seen after this on our way to

* Accounts lately come to hand of the slaughter of some of these missionaries and their converts in Yunnan, as a consequence of the French hostilities, are received with sympathy and profound regret.

Ssumao." The descent from Talan to the Lysien River brought into view an iron suspension bridge of two hundred and sixty-four feet span. Such bridges, some of far greater extent, are numerous over the gorges of western Yunnan, and are remarkable specimens of engineering. Baber gives an interesting account of the method of their construction. At Mohê is a large salt mine; the place is said by Garnier to be the depot of an extensive trade in this article, which holds a very important place in the commerce of Yunnan, as the frequent occurrence of caravans on the road transporting it indicates. Puerh was reached by crossing a range two thousand feet in height, from the summit of which is seen an extensive panorama of bare hills, cultivated valleys, and plains. Puerh is a large walled town, of one main street with branch streets. In the small shops a few European goods are found: as "English needles, threads, buttons, some piece goods, colored checks, and matches." Both this place and Ssumao, the last official station of China on the southern border, have suffered much from war and the plague. Gradually trade is reviving here, as elsewhere in Yunnan.

At Ssumao Mr. Colquhoun was subjected to a serious disappointment—which seemed to thwart the whole object of his journey. It had been his intention to pass down from this point either by the Mekong, or through Kiang-Hung directly by Zimmé to Maulmain. This country has been almost wholly unknown to Europeans, though traversed over long-established routes by native traders. It seemed a matter of prime importance to explore it, and acquire more definite knowledge as to the possibility or advantage of laying a railway in this direction, a scheme already mooted. But the interpreter of the party refused to go farther, alleging his fear of malaria and the disturbed state of the country. No passports had been sought from the court of Mandalay, as it was known that that government would be hostile to the proposed journey. An interpreter was needed to approach the tsobwas, or chiefs, now independent of Burmah, and as none could be obtained some change of route was necessitated. Mr. Colquhoun turned northward, by a way never before explored, up the Papien valley, to Tali, and thence to Bhamo, for the most part over the accustomed road. This northward journey was by no means unprofitable. Though some appalling scenes of desolation were here witnessed—effects

of civil war and the plague, which has of late years unusually afflicted the population—such as were apparent elsewhere in Yunnan, the journey, on the whole, revealed a condition of things which contributed to justify our author's opinion of the superior productiveness and promise of western Yunnan. "The number of pai-fangs," he writes, "wei-kans, and temples was remarkable, and taken along with the bridges, protection walls, and other public works, argues a considerable degree of present affluence. The country certainly has a most prosperous appearance. The hill-sides in many places are cultivated nearly to the top." Hamlets and isolated farm-steadings were seen with unusual frequency, and in some parts "an immense number of villages" are reported, all indicating "a great population." The houses, moreover, are very substantially built, and all things wore an aspect of plenty, while "nowhere was that miserable, starved look which we had seen in some places." A village is thus described: "A country paved causeway led us through unpeopled streets, on either side of which were fine, almost magnificent, buildings, substantial and handsomely decorated. They were nearly all of brick-work or rubble-stone foundations. The outside was plastered and then painted over; frescoes and bass-reliefs were plentiful; the ridgings and finish of the roof being very handsome." The superior specimens of architecture, showing solidity and finish, seen in this section and elsewhere in the province, are generally referred, if not universally, to the Mohammedan influence.

This, then, is Mr. Colquhoun's conclusion and proposal, which—if his view shall be substantiated in the whole as by subsequent exploration it seems to have been already in great part—furnishes the grand key to the problem we have been considering, as to how south-western China can best be entered on the side of the British possessions for a large, or considerable, development of trade. "The real agricultural wealth of Yunnan," he says, "lies in the *central and south-western* portion, which can best be tapped by a railway from British Burmah, passing through Zimmé and Kiang-Hung to Ssumao. The Shan countries to the south are as wealthy in minerals as Yunnan itself, and there is now [in the once Burmese Shan States] no suzerain power to prevent their being worked." It has been known that the Shans are particularly fond of trade, and much given

to traveling for this object. The impression of the fertility of the country and of its considerable undeveloped resources in minerals has been confirmed by recent journeys of exploration.

Having already transgressed the limits assigned to this article, we can do no more here than call attention to Mr. Colquhoun's latest work, "Amongst the Shans," * which gives account of his observations during the mission to Zimmé, and much valuable matter besides on the Shan country and prospects of railroad development. The learned Introduction by Professor Lacouperie is an instructive, though condensed, treatment of its leading subject, and an account of various racial affinities, according to the latest theories, which has received high commendation. The recent collection of papers from the American Presbyterian missionaries in Siam is also an interesting and fresh contribution to our knowledge of the country.† The course of the railroad proposed by Mr. Colquhoun would be devoid of the immense engineering difficulties of another suggested line from Mandalay eastward to Kiang-Hung, and apparently much easier of construction than that projected in 1858 from Rangoon to the same point across a hilly region and several deep valleys of the Salween and other streams, besides opening an intervening section of fertile country which would add abundantly to the resources of the road. It would start from the existing Rangoon and Thoungoo Railroad, some distance above Pegu; strike eastward and south-eastward to near Dongwoon, where it would be joined by a road of sixty miles from Martaban (opposite Maulmain), and thence, after crossing the Salween in the easy level south of the mountain ranges, pass north-eastward over the Baw plateau, which could probably be crossed at some point below the altitude taken (3,337 feet), and constitutes the only serious difficulty of the kind in the proposed route, on to Zimmé. This town is the first objective point. It is the capital of the most populous (perhaps 600,000 inhabitants) of the Siamese provinces, which occupies a semi-independent relation. It stands

* "Amongst the Shans." By Archibald Ross Colquhoun, F.R.G.S. With upward of 50 whole page Illustrations, and an Historical Sketch of the Shans, by Holt S. Hallett, F.R.G.S. Preceded by an Introduction on the Cradle of the Shan Race, by Terrien de Lacouperie, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology, University College, London. London: Field & Tuer. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1885.

† "Siam and Laos, as seen by our American Missionaries." 12mo. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1885.

at an elevation of 800 feet on the Meping River, branch of the Menam, with walls once strong but decayed, being the commercial center of all the Shan region north and east, with very active trade, receiving yearly a caravan from Yunnan, mostly Tali traders, who come for cotton. It is inhabited by Yun Shans, in general a tall, handsome people, more hardy than the Burmese or Siamese. Ever since the journey in these parts of Captain M'Leod in 1836–37, the India government has given some attention to the trade route in this quarter. The American Baptists and Presbyterians have for several years sustained missions in Zimmé. From this town it is an easy road to Kiang-Sen, also an important trade center near the limit of the Siamese Shan territory and on the Mékong, up the west side of which the line would pass to Kiang-Hung, in the independent Shan territory—a total roadway distance of about 700 miles from Rangoon, and perhaps 150 less from Martaban. Such a road would naturally take the entire traffic of the northern section of Shan States tributary to Siam, of the independent I-bang, a great tea district on the east, and of Luang Prabang. The major portion of this line would be in the territory of Siam, and of course involve the co-operation of that power. But it is said that not only the Siamese, but the Shan chiefs and traders and the Chinese, are all eager to see an improvement of the "Golden Road," as the trade route by Zimmé is called. As a part of the project the proposition is urged upon Siam, and favorably received, to construct a railroad from Rangoon up the Menam, forming a junction with the line above traced some distance south of Zimmé. This would be a great advantage to Siam, politically as well as otherwise,* and would furnish a valuable commercial connection for British Burmah with Bangkok and the valley north of it. Mr. Colquhoun's proposed road, crossing the Mekong above Kiang-Hung, would reach Ssumao, its terminus in China. In other quarters the natural suggestion has been made that this line might then, while sending a branch up the Papien valley, go straight on, by a fair amount of engineering, to Yuen-kiang, where it would

* See the testimony on this subject of a recent traveler in "Temples and Elephants. The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao." By Carl Bock. 8vo. London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1884. The book has some reprehensible allusions to missionaries and their work.

be in position to draw on the commerce of central and eastern Yunnan, and, connecting with the Song-koi system, furnish a ready transportation for all goods in transit between the eastern and western ports—thus affording a grand aid to British commerce in cutting off the long sea passage. But for all this, British capital will have China to reckon with, and perhaps France. The treaty which, according to report, France has formed with native Burmah already carries her influence, so far as such a treaty may have any force, and professed right of partial military occupation (for the "protection" of certain ruby mines), up to the east bank of the Salween, and over the very territory of Kiang-Hung which the projected line proposes to cross. But a long-established and positive British influence, commercial and political, already exists in the country.

Mr. Colquhoun's explorations and suggestions have attracted much attention in influential quarters in England. Funds have been raised, through commercial organizations, to provide for a thorough exploration and survey of the proposed line from the direction of British Burmah, and such a survey on the portion beginning at Maulmain and extending as far as Zimmé has been completed under the direction of Mr. Holt S. Hallett, who, after passing down the Menam to Bangkok, arrived at Calcutta early in February of the present year, with the design of soon making his full report at London to the Chamber of Commerce. He affirms, in general, that a great part of the country is fertile and thickly peopled. He estimates the cost of the British portion of this line at £930,000, and believes that if it were once begun the Siamese government would readily undertake the connecting line in Siam. He considers that the traffic would be enormous. The relations between Siam and England are cordial, and it would seem an important policy for the latter to maintain the integrity and power of Siam as against any other European influence, if she would not see wrested from her grasp the most feasible, if not the only practicable, route for enlarged commercial intercourse between her possessions and south-western China.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE REVISED OLD TESTAMENT.

THIS long-expected, long-delayed production is at length an accomplished fact, and its first impression on the public mind is, in part, reported. The keen-edged curiosity that greeted the Revised New Testament, four years earlier, had become somewhat blunted by the lapse of time and the wide perusal of the earlier work, and by its general discussion. And yet this later issue has by no means fallen still-born from the press; for although the general public has not been very greatly moved by its coming, and its sales have scarcely equaled a tithe of those reached by its predecessor in the same length of time, a numerically much smaller body of readers, who look deeper and think more broadly and decide less hastily, have been examining and considering the matter in hand; and these are now beginning to be heard from.

A general and somewhat hasty estimate of the case would probably bring out the conclusion that the completed work, as now submitted to the public, though somewhat disappointing, is yet not altogether unsatisfactory. That it makes, on the whole, some valuable contributions to general biblical learning, and somewhat improves upon the old Version, must be conceded, and, therefore, it is valuable, especially to readers of simply average learning. To that extent the Revisers have responded to the legitimate expectations of English-speaking Christendom. Fewer changes are made, in proportion to the amount of matter, than in the Revised New Testament; partly because fewer were required, but much more because of the relatively greater cautiousness of the "Old Testament Company," and perhaps, also, to some extent, from deference to the outcry raised against the unwarranted freedom at some points used by the "New Testament Company." Perhaps it will be discovered that the whole subject of Old Testament learning is not yet ripe for final treatment. Dissatisfaction with their work was no doubt not to be avoided, since the demands of some were incompatible with those of others. The Scylla of the Conservatists overlapped the Charybdis of the Progressionists, and no place was left for the *media tutissima via*—the always ready but seldom satisfactory expedient of a certain class of would-be practical minds. In the New Testament Company the progressive spirit was largely effective, and hence the occasions for the alarm created by their work among those who blindly worship the past, and who care less for simple truth than for prescriptive authority, and with whom antiquity is the proof of divinity. But quite another spirit seems to have animated the Old Testament Company, and perhaps their completed work, carried on through fourteen

years of painstaking, may suggest to some minds the fable of the Mountain and the Mouse. And yet it would be hasty, and indeed incorrect, to say that the completed work is not worth all that it has cost, however far it may come short of the just and reasonable requirement of the case.

The general principles laid down for the guidance of the Revisers at the beginning were very generally approved as judicious and necessary, and also as sufficiently flexible for all practical uses. But written rules, however wisely constructed, cannot determine in advance how very many practical questions must be solved. The accepted qualification, "as far as possible," refers almost every question to the judgment and discretion of those charged with the execution of the work. The business was further embarrassed by the want of a clearly ascertained and defined purpose for which the revision had been undertaken. The Authorized Version was so hedged about by reason of its confessed sacredness that to touch it was made to appear almost an act of sacrilege; and though its inviolability was qualified by the condition "consistently with faithfulness," a fearful *Procul, O procul!* seemed to be constantly sounded out in respect to it. That qualifying clause, indeed, intimates that there exists another and more authoritative standard than the Authorized Version, whose claims are paramount, but it does not designate it. It would seem natural to presume that the original Hebrew is intended, and that the sense of the text must be determined by the accepted laws of literary criticism; but a careful study of the New Version will show that that was the case only to a limited extent. The Revisers were informed that they were not expected to make "a new translation," but only to revise that now in use, which, they are reminded, "for more than two centuries and a half had held the position of an English classic," clearly intimating that its antiquity ought to secure for it a qualified inviolability; and this suggestion it is evident the Revisers have not disregarded. The language of the English Bible for the twentieth century—such is the decree—must be that of Shakespeare and Bacon, not that of Pitt and Burke or of Thomas Arnold and Robert Hall, since only the former was sufficiently sanctified by age to become the vehicle of the mind of the Spirit to English-speaking Christians. The makers of the Authorized Version employed the language of their own times, but those who undertook the work of revisal were enjoined to use that of more than two centuries and a half ago.

Now, if there is one obligation of paramount authority binding upon those whose office it is, under God, to deliver the divine oracles to the people—it is that they shall give them the written word in its literal significance, as nearly as it can be done by human language; and also in a form that shall be most readily understood, not only by scholars and specialists, but also by the "common people." It is for that purpose that translations of the Scriptures are made; and any pretended rendering that fails to do precisely that thing is, as far as it purposely so fails, a fraud. Nor need it be reiterated that the language of Shakespeare is not now the vernacular of English-speaking Christendom. The business of the Revisers certainly was to give to the Christians who now speak the

English tongue a restatement of the sense of Holy Scripture in their own language, and in the form and style most easy to be understood, and, as far as possible, in harmony with their own modes of thinking and speaking: just as Luther did for the common people of Germany when he made his translation for their use.

But, quite otherwise, our Revisers bring us back the Bible of 1611, with only incidental changes and a few verbal emendations. That version, when first issued, was conformed to the speech of its age, nor did they who made it acknowledge their obligation to go back to the times of Wiclif and Chaucer for a linguistic vehicle in which to convey the divine oracles to the people of a later age. In the present case, however, any changes that are confessed to be necessary to avoid manifest errors of sense may indeed be made, but the amended rendering must be carefully conformed to the language of the Authorized Version, "or to *earlier* (not later, however much better) English Versions." It seems to be assumed that certain forms of speaking and thinking which have become obsolete among those who use the English language are to be chosen as the better adapted to convey to them the import of the "words whereby they may be saved." There is, indeed, a venerableness in long-used forms of religious expression which should not be needlessly sacrificed, but no amount of rhythmical beauty can compensate for the loss of truthfulness. If, then, the New Testament Revisers were too free in changing the forms of words employed, their collaborators have erred much more egregiously in the opposite direction, since they have often preferred the sonorousness of the Old Version to the prosaic reality of the original. And if forms oft-repeated become venerable by use, so by the same process they lose their natural definiteness of signification, and may, indeed, become meaningless; and a change of words, even without any corresponding change of sense, will often act upon the mind of the reader as a revelation.

But with all the defectiveness of some of their methods the Revisers have effected not a few valuable changes; and had the English Company been more ready to listen to their American collaborators, they would have done still more. A notable case of dissent between the two companies is seen in respect to the use of the name of the God of Israel—JEHOVAH, more exactly, JAHVEH. In the Authorized Version that name is rendered (not translated) the LORD, and it is usually printed in small capitals, to distinguish it from all others who may be properly designated by the word that naturally signifies only a ruler or chief. But the word JEHOVAH not only has no direct reference to lordship, but is also not capable of being translated. The use of the word "Lord" as its equivalent is, therefore, not only incorrect, but also both belittling and misleading. The attempt to rescue it by having it printed in capitals is but little better than puerile; and while it recognizes the insufficiency of the substituted term, it wholly fails to remedy the defect by a device that is without significance, and which is detected only by the eye, while to all who only hear the Bible read—and the language of Scripture is largely learned by the hearing—the peculiarity of the printing cannot be known; and of the

millions who read the English Bible certainly only a very small proportion make any note of the fact that sometimes the word "lord" is printed in capitals, and at others in small letters. Again, as thus rendered, the ineffable name of the God of Israel becomes a common instead of a proper name, and he whom it designates is, in thought, removed from his unique *solitariness* into the category of *rulers*, in which he is one of many, although pre-eminent. The name JEHOVAH was announced to signify that He whom it designated stands alone, and is essentially unlike all created things, of which condition it is effectually deprived by classing it among others. The American Company, for these reasons, desired to retain the original word, but their superiors decreed otherwise.

In like manner the American Company desired to retain unchanged the Hebrew word *Sheol* wherever it occurs in the text, and which is in the Authorized Version changed almost indifferently to "the grave," "the pit," or "hell." The objection to the substitution of these terms is not only that they are unauthorized and incorrect, but especially that they pervert the manifest sense of the original, and obscure important doctrinal teachings. Our English Version of the Old Testament is justly said to teach the doctrine of immortality only obscurely and by inferences—some say not at all: but give the word *Sheol* its proper significance—the spirit-world, man's estate after death—and it broadly asserts the doctrine of the future life as often as it occurs in its proper sense, though not in a material body. Jacob did not speak of going into "the grave" to find Joseph, as both the Old and the New Versions make him do, though the latter makes the margins contradict the text. But while in the prose of the Old Testament the mistranslation of the Authorized Version is perpetuated, in the poetical parts the word is retained in its proper form; for which correctness in part we will be duly grateful, though the inconsistency is quite inexplicable.

But some real corrections of manifest errors and some doubtful obscurities have been rectified or elucidated. The word translated "destruction" (Job xxvi, 6, Prov. xv, 2, xxviii, 20) is changed to Abaddon—an evident improvement, though the word (borrowed from Rev. ix, 11) is wholly out of place in all these cases, for there it is clearly the name of a person, while in these passages it indicates a place or condition—the lower hell—or, according to Professor Tayler Lewis, "the world below sheol," so affording another glance into Old Testament eschatology. A good service has been rendered in respect to the "groves" so often named in connection with the idolatry of the Israelites. That word and its idea disappear, and we have instead "Asherah," *plural* "Asherim," in which change the Revisers will be sustained and thanked by all competent scholars. The word signified the image or statue of Astarte, the Syrian Venus, which was set up wherever the shrines of the Syrian idolatry were established. In a few cases the Revisers have fairly broken away from the Authorized Version, and have given us instead some new, not to say strange, renderings. The "tabernacle of the congregation" disappears, but in its stead stands "the tent

of meeting." Neither translation is quite correct; but the old one had the advantage as to dignity and sonorousness. So, too, the "meat-offerings" are taken away, and "*meal*-offerings" substituted. Literally translated, it would be a "*food*-offering;" and in the old times they had the broader meaning for the word "meat," for which we have only the poor alternatives *food* and *victuals*, unless we revive the good and significant word "bread," which might have been here advantageously employed by the Revisers.

Certain expressions indicative of matters relating to the sexes, which were unobjectionable in Shakespeare's time, and which occur in the English Bible, have ceased to be allowable, not only in ordinary conversation, but even in public discourse. Some portions of the Old Testament are flagrantly unfit to be read aloud, either in public or private; and as the sense they imply can be expressed in less offensive language, it was clearly the duty of the Revisers to make the required substitutions. This has been done in one notable case (see 1 Kings xiv, 10, etc.) by expressing the sense intended, but wholly suppressing the imagery. But when the Americans proposed to get rid of the offensive epithet used to designate an unchaste woman, with its compounds and derivatives, and to use in its stead a milder word, English conservatism interposed its veto; and, accordingly, the whole category of Jezebels must still be designated by a monosyllabic term.

A decidedly good work is done in recognizing and making plain, as is not done by the Authorized Version in any case in the Old Testament, and very inadequately in the New, the difference of meanings expressed in different instances by the words "people" and "nation," with their plurals. The word "people" is commonly used to signify "Israel," God's chosen race; but in some cases the plural form is employed to include others also. In the sixty-seventh Psalm occurs the expression, "Let the people [singular] praise thee;" but the original word has the plural form, and it is evidently intended to be equivalent to the "all nations" with which it is coupled, and so the Revisers have rendered it. So the word "nations" (Heb. *gogim*) is relieved of much of the ambiguity in which it is involved in the Authorized Version. In the earlier books of the Bible it usually indicates the Canaanites, but later it referred also to other foreigners with whom the Israelites came in contact; but at length it came to have a religious significance, which is partially indicated by the word "heathen." The sense of the original word, as it occurs in different places, can be determined only by a careful consideration of the manifest design of the writing in each case, and to this the Revisers appear to have given special attention, with satisfactory results.

Every reader of the English Bible is aware that it contains a large share of words and phrases and forms of construction that have passed wholly out of use among good writers or speakers. Some of these are simply archaisms—obsolete words and phrases; others, once sufficiently significant, have become almost wholly meaningless; while others express meanings for which they were not intended. The American Company wished

to replace these by the equivalents of their former meanings in the speech of the present age, but not so thought their English superiors. Accordingly, we are still to read "astonied" when we mean *astonished;* we must still have "chapiters" instead of *capitals* on our architectural columns; when in need we are not to be *helped*, but "holpen;" and that which we ascertain we are not to *know*, but we must *wot* of it. The artisan must not be said to *refine* his metals, but, though not a magistrate nor armed with any judicial authority, he must "fine" them. The absurdity and maudlin folly of all this is so obvious that the reader may be trusted to find out the proper epithets by which to characterize it. That all English-speaking Christendom is thus to be tethered to the linguistic standards of three hundred years ago is not supposable; and if English Churchmen and closet scholars have failed to learn the living language of their contemporaries they are not the men to reproduce the word of God in the "English tongue," which means very much more than the peculiar dialect of the Established Church.

As a whole, we say again, the New Version has many real excellences, while its faults, both positive and negative, are also many and grave—quite too much so to allow the expectation that it can ever be accepted as a finality. It fails to correct a great many obvious and confessed errors; its utterances are often, and it would seem purposely, ambiguous and indefinite, where clearness is both desirable and attainable; and the dialect into which the Version is made is not the speech of the people of either country, neither of the learned nor the unlearned.

The enterprise inaugurated with a great flourish of trumpets by the "Convocation of Canterbury" fifteen years ago, and ostensibly designed to provide an Amended Version of the English Bible, has had its course, and the result is certainly something less than a complete success. The work is submitted; and probably nobody will conclude that this Canterbury revision will ever become the standard English Bible to the millions that will speak that language during the coming centuries. The New Testament revision has been severely criticised, partly for good reason, and partly otherwise; but it is faithful to the original, and its makers dared to use their mother-tongue, agreeable to the usages of their own generation.

But the failure to produce a satisfactory Version is not the whole of this revision business. Among its certain and permanent and widely effective results must be recognized the very extensive unsettling of the public mind, and of the confidence of the moderately intelligent part of the technically not scholarly of the people, in the Bible of their childhood. This result was, perhaps, inevitable, and was sure to come without the help of that movement; and therefore our Christian leaders and teachers should have been ready to respond to the demands of the occasion. As matters now stand, the Christian people of the two greatest Protestant nations of the world, both of one blood and one speech, no longer possess an accepted Version of the Holy Scriptures; and, while scholars need not be at any loss respecting the teachings of their sacred books, they nevertheless have

taught the people to believe that their old Version of the Bible is sadly faulty, and now it comes out that the attempt to produce a more satisfactory one has broken down in its efforts. It has long been confessed that our age is a transition period in biblical criticism and interpretation; and now it may be apprehended that the instability of opinion which has hitherto been chiefly confined to the schools will spread among the common people. All this may possibly be for the better rather than the worse. The truth will be set in a clearer and steadier light by the investigation that will become necessary, and in due time we shall certainly have a People's Bible—the words of the prophets and the apostles clearly interpreted, presenting the truth as it is in Jesus in language as plain and intelligible as the prattlings of childhood. In any event we may be assured that the word of the Lord remains sure.

PROFESSOR WINCHELL ON "ANTHROPOMORPHISM."

EDITOR OF METHODIST REVIEW: The most important article of the REVIEW for July is pre-eminently Dr. Winchell's "Anthropomorphism." The discussion there given is at once masterly and scholarly, and it also supplies a *desideratum*. It is the best thing on the subject I remember to have seen, and it appears to me at once unanswerable and complete. The reading of it has also suggested certain interrogatories to which, I trust, either you or the learned doctor will see your way to respond.

1. Is it not to be regretted that in this essay, which leaves so little to be desired, the writer did not, while affirming that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *will*, *thought*, or *affection* of God, since these attributes, so far from being characteristically human, may be assumed to be, in part, those features of the Divine Mind in the image of which man was originally constituted, also affirm that it is not anthropomorphism to predicate *conscience* of God—that is, to insist that the instincts of justice and benevolence which pervade the human breast, and which when duly enlightened never fail to assert themselves, do fairly interpret the divine idea of right and justice? If the ideas of morality and of moral obligation, especially as they exist in a properly Christianized mind, be not universal—absolutely the same in all worlds, and eternally and hence absolutely trustworthy—how can a divine government proper, or a future and universal judgment, ever be possible?

I have had a great deal of sympathy with [the sentiment of] the late John Stuart Mill, when, in opposition to the agnosticism of Mansell, he, as will be remembered, somewhat indignantly declared, "Convince me that the highest human morality does not, as far as it goes, actually sanction and correctly interpret the moral attributes of God, however infinite—and, while I shall bear my fate as best I may, there is one thing I will not do, and this because I cannot—I will not worship this God; and if told that I must go to hell in consequence of my obduracy, then to hell I will go."

2. When Dr. Winchell states (p. 529) that "no religion ever existed which interposed a vacuum of being all the way from the Infinite to man," I am moved to ask, "How much did the typical Puritan's faith come short of doing just that

thing? What helpful intermediary did that faith recognize?" And yet what religion, however many its ritualistic crutches, has ever yielded loftier specimens of Christian manhood than that same utterly unritualistic Puritanism? And this suggests just here another question, as important practically as it is psychologically interesting. However instinctive it may be to do so, is it wise, is it safe, or in any case necessary, to resort to these materialistic aids to faith, and to sensuous symbolisms, as adjuncts to devotion? It is customary to say, that in the religious childhood of the race an elaborate ceremonial was introduced among the Israelites in order to educate them up to the apprehension of better religious ideas. But it is to be observed, that whatever the wisdom (or unwisdom) of this method of religious nurture, hardly had it been introduced before the people were warned against its abuse; hardly was it in full operation ere they were threatened with the severest penalties for having yielded to the temptation thereby afforded to lapse into formalism and spiritual death. It is to be observed further, in this connection, that at the present day, however debased the people to whom missionaries are sent, whether Fijian, Patagonian, or Hottentot, there seems to be no necessity to resort to any sort of sensuous symbolism in order either to inculcate religious truth or to enkindle devotion.

3. I especially enjoyed that part of the learned professor's essay in which he most conclusively shows that, inasmuch as all idolatry and polytheism spring from that natural, instinctive human craving for outward, sensible manifestations of the spiritual and unseen which is the counterpart of all symbolism, these cannot be condemned as essentially wrong, any more than the use of a candle or a crucifix. [But does this excuse the idolatry, or does it condemn the use of a candle or a crucifix?] Upon this I queried, why, then, have polytheism and idolatry always been condemned as essentially wicked? If, as another has well said, "Idolatry is but the religious instinct gone astray," why, instead of denouncing it root and branch, is it not wiser to imitate Paul's example, saying, "Whom ye *ignorantly* worship, Him declare I unto you." You do well to *worship;* we come to show unto you a "more *excellent way*"—to help you to a truer conception of our common Father, and a more direct and satisfactory way of approach to him.

4. Once more. If, as Dr. Winchell maintains—and I confess his position seems to me well taken, that is, from the stand-point of scientific historical criticism—if the ancient Hebrew histories abound in very crude anthropomorphic representations of the Deity—representing the latter often as actuated by purely human motives and selfishly human passions; if, in other words, we admit, in substance, that the Holy Ghost could not sufficiently possess and control the holy men employed to write these ancient histories so as to preserve them from the use of such imagery, or descriptive terms, as to involve inadequate and misleading representations of Jehovah, what becomes of our popular theory of Inspiration? How are we to know positively what is authentic Scripture?

We read, that Jehovah himself declares, "I am a *jealous* God." Now, did Jehovah actually indite that word "jealous?" If so, did he really mean it? If he did not indite it, how are we to know that he indited any other part of the decalogue? We have a "Thus saith the Lord" for certain nameless barbarities perpetrated by the Israelites on their enemies. If, as I would be very glad to be able to do, we can explain these away, as Dr. Winchell intimates, by relegating these unfortunate statements to the crude, anthropomorphic conceptions concerning the Deity entertained by the writers of these histories, how yet shall we know when positively to credit other statements similarly authenticated? Will

not the whole record, by this process, become, especially in the popular estimation, either wholly invalidated or rendered of doubtful authority? What must the preacher or Bible-class teacher, with these "advanced views" in his mind, do when these hard questions arise, and cavils are suggested concerning such confessed difficulties in the Old Testament history? R. H. H.

June 27, 1885.

Remarks by the Editor.

When we gave Dr. Winchell's paper a place in our pages, which was done both on account of the importance of its subject and the ability of its treatment, we expected that it would suggest not a few questions which it failed to answer; and we felt, also, that some of its positions needed to be further guarded, in order to save them from probable misapprehensions. And now we are not at all surprised at the receipt of such a letter as that given above, which, however, seems to need explanations and delimitations scarcely less than the article to which it refers. The study of the subject of the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, and of our religious conceptions, is forced upon us by the trend of the public mind and by the thinking of the age, and, no doubt, by means of it some important truths will be made to appear in new and unusual aspects. These things do not look to the men of the present day just as they did to their predecessors; and among these manifest changes some of the aspects (not the substance) of religious truth and doctrine have been subjected to the common experience. Modifications of very wide extent and far-reaching influences are certainly taking place in respect to the forms and externals of Christian doctrines. They cannot be resisted; and though perilous in the process of the transition, they will probably prove beneficial in the final outcome; and while we could not withstand them, if we would, we have no wish to do so. Evidently, however, it is the duty of the leaders of the Christian thought of the age to act as guides and guardians in this transition, instead of giving it over to the misdirection of the unspiritual and perversely skeptical.

The tendency to materialistic and sensuous conceptions of spiritual truths is universal among men. It very largely dominates the ideas and the methods of the whole race of "scientists;" so much so, that to ignore and practically deny all proper spirituality has become the rule with them. In the religious world, outside of Christendom, naturalism is the theology of the learned and fetichism of the unlearned, and the Christian world is but very partially delivered from the same influence. The languages of men, which are but their thinkings put into permanent forms, are essentially materialistic and sensuous; and the very terms by which alone we can seek to express our most thoroughly spiritual conceptions are originally of sensuous origins. When, therefore, God would reveal his truth to the human consciousness, it was necessary that he should present himself in anthropomorphic forms; and universally things spiritual must be presented in materialistic images. And yet this state of the case, though unavoidable, is not without its evil tendencies by reason of its limitations, to

avoid which evils in their ruinous extremes is the business of the spiritual instructor and guide.

In condescension to man's want of spiritual capabilities God has embodied the manifestation of his truth, and of his person also, in a materialistic imagery; his revelations and his religious ordinances are all formally anthropomorphic. But lest this should obscure the pure spirituality of the Divine Person and his worship, earnest and emphatic warnings are uttered against their natural tendency. Outward and material sacrifices were instituted, but their essential worthlessness, except as symbols of something better, was declared at the same time. A temple was built as "a dwelling-place for the God of Jacob;" but in the solemn forms of its consecration there was heard the significant confession, "Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee." The second commandment was expressly designed to set bounds to this tendency to hide the idea of godhead of a sensuous setting, and all through the centuries of the Israelitish Church God was perpetually warning his people against the sin of degrading their conceptions of His Person under outward and tangible forms. During his whole ministry Christ earnestly antagonized this tendency by denouncing the hollowness and want of spirituality of the popular religion of his day, and by requiring in opposition to it a purely spiritual worship, because its great Object is Spirit. The conflict which appears in our Lord's dealings with the men of his own time has been continued through all the ages of the Church's history, and doubtless it is destined to continue to the end, so long as the flesh shall continue to war against the Spirit—the *carnal* against the *spiritual*.

Some of the side-questions suggested by Professor Winchell's discussions are referred to in the letter of our correspondent given above, and to some of these we now propose to devote a few thoughts, taking them up somewhat in the order in which they are presented.

The regret of our correspondent at the silence of the essay respecting the essential and unchangeable nature of ethical righteousness, and its immanence in the divine character, would be eminently pertinent had that thought been anywhere brought into question. In proportion as the essential spirituality of the Divine Person is brought into view his holiness also is declared, and that not as an accidental or variable quality, but as of his essential Being; and because God so reveals himself in holiness, and the human consciousness apprehends and approves what is thus detected, God never, as the embodiment of essential righteousness, can be without a witness in every heart. And this revelation of the ethical side of the divine nature brings with it also the awful authority of the divine majesty. But all this lies quite outside of the form of anthropomorphism, to the discussion of which the essay is devoted.

Quite unlike our correspondent, we have no "sympathy with," but a *great horror at*, such thoughts and utterances as that introduced from John Stuart Mill; not, however, because we at all tolerate the sentiments against which it so fiercely protests. The conviction hypothetically referred to is not supposable; and that there should be any disharmony

between "the highest human morality," which is always a reflection of the divine holiness and its glorious Author, is an absurdity, not only of the intellect, but not less so of the heart. For any man, even hypothetically, to place himself in opposition to God, and to appeal from the divine judgments to eternal justice, which must have been first in thought separated from God, and to set up in opposition to him a fancied righteousness with which to defy the thunders of almighty vengeance, is itself simply *impious.* It may be well to solemnly protest against the *quasi*-blasphemy of the creeds which change the countenance of the Father of all mercies into the gorgon face of something worse than a Moloch; but not even in thought is it lawful to contemplate our God as such a one. In not a few cases this proud appeal from some supposititious act or declaration of God is simply the expression of an egoistical self-worship that claims for itself infallibility of moral judgment and the unvarying rectitude of the moral intuitions of the individual. This was Job's folly and offense—less offensively expressed, indeed, than in the case here cited—before, in the sight of manifested Godhead, he came to abhor himself in dust and ashes.

"The typical Puritan faith" very clearly recognized and strongly clung to the one great "Mediary" that fills all the infinite void between God and man; and in that article of its creed lay its wonderful power to produce such lofty "specimens of Christian manhood." With all its repulsive severity and its one-sided conception of God's character and dispensations, British and American Calvinism, by vigorously taking hold on Christ and declaring him to be the sole and sufficient Mediator between God and man, developed a sturdier form of the Christian life than can be done by any system that denudes the Godhead of his majesty, and degrades Christ from the character of a divine sacrifice for sin to simply a kindly friend and older brother. The development of so sturdy a form of Christianity as that of the Puritans, with its minimum of anthropomorphism, is proof of the inutility of any large amount of that element in Christian culture. And yet the failure of Puritanism resulted from the relative supremacy of the outward and formal, in both its faith and its practice. Materialistic "aids to faith," beyond the simplest forms, usually operate as clogs and hinderances, like Saul's armor on the limbs of the young shepherd of Bethlehem.

No doubt, as Prof. Winchell argues, all idolatry and polytheism springs from the heart's cravings after something to worship. But these most sacred characteristics of the soul expose it the most surely to deep and fearful degradations. What were the natural results of idolatry—which is simply the changing of "the glory of the incorruptible God" into the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things"—we are very clearly and forcibly shown in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. There is, no doubt, the struggling of the religious instincts of the soul back of all really religious idolatry, but the objects toward which they go out impart their own evil to the worship itself. At the very best, such a service can only feed the soul upon vanity, and among its almost absolutely necessary conditions it min-

isters to sin. It lacks any power to raise the soul Godward; and in the absence of the ethical conception worship inevitably tends to positive and gross impurity. Paul indeed recognized both a natural theism and the impulse to worship as manifested in the polytheism of the Athenians, and these he sought to turn to account in favor of the Gospel. It was his single experiment on that line; and its unsuccess seems to indicate its unsuitableness. Because the soul in man is naturally sensuous, and instinctively seeks its pleasure in gratifying the lusts of the flesh, the feebler religious instincts are easily overcome and subordinated to the lower psychological impulses. Religion, in order to become effective in raising the soul into spiritual life, must be, as far as may be, separated from all outward forms; and the history of the Church proves that in proportion as Christianity has become materialistic in its conceptions, and formal and ritualistic in its expression, it has usually become powerless to save men's souls.

The anthropomorphisms that characterize the Old Testament, and which are not wholly absent from the New, are simply the necessary accommodations of spiritual ideas to men's gross conceptions, and the embodying of the supersensuous in a materialistic imagery. Because men knew only the language of sense, it was necessary to convey to them spiritual truths in that language, and yet to intimate the higher spirituality as fast as the requisite susceptibility to apprehend it should be developed. But this has nothing to do with the ethical considerations involved in such transactions as the conquest and slaughter of the Canaanites; for the questions suggested by these and similar matters lie entirely outside of all anthropomorphic conceptions or expressions. They may suggest important and perplexing inquiries, but in quite another line of thought than those of methods of expression. Nor is it necessary to resort to the plea of an anthropomorphic imagery to explain what we are taught respecting the dispositions and exercises of the mind of God. His devotion to ethical righteousness becomes, without change or passion on his part, "anger" toward transgression, "jealousy" for the protection of the right, and "vengeance"—the exercise of vindicatory authority—toward the guilty. Relatively, because of his absolute changelessness, there is change in God's relations and dispositions toward his creatures when they change in respect to him; and in this he manifests his essentially non-anthropomorphic nature, because he is God and not man.

While conceding that there are many and formidable questions that beset the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures, we fail to find the assumed difficulty at the point suggested by the above letter. The sacred history deals with facts, and as *facts* it vouches for their correctness; but it is sublimely indifferent to the quibblings of conceited smatterers who require that every recorded transaction shall be adjusted to their narrow conceptions of what ought to be. God does not submit the details of his conduct to man's judgment, nor stop at every stage to justify his administration. It is for men, with unquestioning submission, to obey what God commands, and to learn from the divine judgments, no

less than from the divine word, what are the demands of concrete and administrative righteousness; entirely subordinating their own intuitions, and correcting them by the lessons that he himself teaches: and they who will read that history in such a spirit will not be much troubled about its inspiration or authenticity.

But there are certain suggestions growing out of this subject of "anthropomorphism" in relation to the Christian faith of which our correspondent says nothing, and to which the essay refers only slightly. Though the JEHOVAH of the Old Testament was an essentially spiritual manifestation, yet the prevalent Hebrew conception of the Godhead was clearly and often grossly anthropomorphic; and to the Israelitish people their God was, in kind, only Moses amplified and exalted in each case according to the subjective capacities of the individual. So the revelation of the Godhead in Christ was still more broadly a spiritual manifestation, of which some of his disciples attained to relatively pure and elevated conceptions, which are faithfully and adequately sketched in the gospels and the apostolical writings. But ecclesiastical Christianity, as to both its forms and its doctrinal ideas, very early took on a gross anthropomorphic embodiment, which practically obscured the spiritual in the outward and literal. The Reformation was the result of the strugglings of the entombed spirit of Christianity, striving to get free; but even the leaders of that movement stopped at half-way. But because they asserted and maintained the right of individual free thinking, the Reformers rendered all needed advances possible, and bequeathed to after generations the heritage of that freedom with its attendant responsibilities. The Protestantism of three hundred years ago was a living germ instinct with wonderful possibilities, and sure to become developed in after times; and evidently the time of its unfolding has come. Its unspiritual appendages of mechanical inspiration and the literalistic interpretation of Scripture; its *ex opere operato* sacramentarianisms; its formally chartered ecclesiasticism, with a personal succession of ministrants; its expectation of an outward advent and millennium, and a scenic resurrection and day of judgment, and its entire materialistic eschatology, are evidently parts of its outward shell, which must find their place among the *exuviæ* of which essential Christianity, as delivered by the Master and received by his apostles, is freeing itself. But let nobody be alarmed at these changes, nor yet in haste for their completion. The grain of mustard-seed does not complete its possibilities all at once; and "the kingdom of heaven," of which it is the divinely indicated illustration, must also be a development. Ours may be the season of its efflorescence, following its long hibernation, and its slowly advancing early growth; and so it must also have its period of enlargement for the perfecting and maturing of its fruit, for which unreckoned cycles may be required. Of these "times and seasons" of the Church's earthly glory and conquest, the harvesting of its fruitage, we know only that they are in the purposes of divine goodness; their period, and what shall come after them, "the Father hath set within his own authority."

THE SECOND ADVENT AND THE MILLENNIUM.

Many persons, at some period of their life-time, become aware that they are assenting to opinions for which they can render no reasons. Another, and perhaps a much more numerous, class are really in the same condition, but they never awake to its reality. They assent to certain things because such are the accepted opinions of those among whom they live, and they do not trouble themselves to find out the grounds on which the prevailing belief rests. Within certain not very narrow limits this may be well. Only a small proportion of mankind can do their own thinking, and it is better to believe on second-hand authority than to doubt all that one can neither prove nor disprove. Both these considerations apply especially in respect to religious and theological opinions. We learn these in childhood, not by reasoning and through proofs addressed to our understanding, but by authority from our teachers and by virtue of the unconsciously accepted teachings of public opinion. And certainly it is best to abide in these things, unless they shall be found incompatible with reason or the paramount authority of the word of God. To unlearn one's errors is not uniformly an unmixed good; but for the thoughtful it often becomes impossible to retain such passively accepted convictions, except as they shall be supported by other and stronger evidence; and the mental crises that occur in this transition from negative to positive beliefs are oftentimes about equally painful and perilous.

Perhaps some who will read this paper have had something of this experience in respect to one or another article of their religious opinions, and have felt the infelicity of being unable to find any satisfactory proofs of certain cherished traditional beliefs, which also were the more troublesome because of the lack of any accepted criteria by which to discriminate between essential and merely incidental matters of faith. Among the things firmly imbedded in the traditional doctrinal notions of Protestant Christendom are some of the details of its eschatology, the proofs for which are not quite obvious; and when proofs are offered, they are often found to be vague and far-fetched, and commonly made up from proof-texts arbitrarily construed as such by a prescriptive but unreliable exegesis. The practice of reading into Scripture meanings that do not belong to it, or of seeming to get more out of it, in certain directions, than it contains, has become an authoritative usage which is often more effective than the rational import of the sacred text itself.

Our thoughts have just now been called to this general subject, and especially to certain details of it indicated by the heading of this paper, by reading an article in the "Presbyterian Review" for July, by Dr. A. W. Pilzer, of Washington City, entitled "The Return of Jesus, the Christ." It contains nothing that we have not heard or read before, brings forward no novel or startling propositions, and it may also be said to fairly set forth the traditional belief of a large section of modern Protestantism on the subject. In presenting his theme, the writer gives as his chief proof-text the eleventh verse of the first chapter of Acts:

"This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven;" and then he affirms, with a positiveness that scorns any possible questioning, "This message cannot mean either *death*, or *the outpouring of the Spirit*, or *the destruction of Jerusalem*, or *the triumph of the Gospel:* it means, and *can only mean*, the BODILY RETURN OF JESUS, who was crucified, who was buried in Joseph's tomb, who rose from the dead, who ascended into heaven." In agreement with this interpretation of this one passage we are told there are in the New Testament three hundred and twenty-five others that "implicitly or explicitly proclaim the same Blessed Hope" (the capitals are his).

We are not disposed to call in question either the mental acumen or the learning of the essayist, nor to affirm that he overstates the commonly accepted belief on the subject, though we are quite certain that very many, neither less able nor less learned than himself, would hesitate to declare the same things as their own settled conviction; and perhaps some of these will feel that it might have been better to avoid the provocation that may come of so broad and so bold an expression of opinion, to silently if not openly protest against it. And yet it may be well that the views of an extreme school of theologists and exegetes should be thus fully and clearly set forth, for there is reason to believe that the whole subject involved will have to be re-examined and re-stated before the public; and therefore it should be known what are the views of those that hold to its positive side.

It is well known that there are in the New Testament a great number of words and phrases which Adventists and Millenarians appropriate as teaching their views; and it must be granted, that if their interpretation of these is correct, there can be no doubt that the whole New Testament glows with these doctrines. It is also known that many able commentators and theologians accept these views, though often with very considerable modifications, which greatly mar the symmetry of the whole system. There is also a not inconsiderable and a steadily increasing body of dissentients; some openly discarding the entire theory, but most only doubting and asking to have their doubts removed. The proof-texts so confidently relied on to prove the traditional doctrine fail to satisfy them. They do not find that such words, in the Greek Testament, as παρουσία (*presence*) and ἐπιφανεία (*appearing* or *outshining*) invariably, nor indeed usually, refer to our Lord's Second Coming; but, instead, as soon as the bold assumptions of the Adventists are called in question, such a sense seems impossible. Such expressions as "the coming of the Lord," and "the day of the Lord Jesus Christ," and others of similar import, in not a few cases, cannot be rationally construed to refer to that event. And since the use of such expressions is somewhat indefinite, it is necessary, wherever any of them occur, to determine their meaning in each case by a reference to the context and their evident design, and in the use of the ordinary laws of critical interpretation; and under that kind of treatment their Advent-Millenarian interpretation usually effectually disappears.

It is claimed that the expectation of Christ's coming again was entertained and warmly cherished by the apostles and the early Church, which assumption we need not, in this place, either deny or concede; if, however, it is granted, then must all the legitimate implications of that fact be also accepted. If the New Testament writers used the expressions in question in the sense claimed by the Adventists, it is quite sure that they also expected that the designated events would occur very shortly—certainly within the ordinary life-time of those then living—and that then just as certainly they were mistaken. The use made of these expressions makes it necessary to presume that the indicated "coming," or "revelation," was to be to those addressed, and not to those of some indefinitely remote age, eighteen hundred or ten thousand years afterward. Paul prayed that the Christians of Thessalonica might be established in holiness, "at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, on the Adventist theory, some thousands of years in the future; and Peter exhorts his brethren to "gird up the loins" of their mind, and to "be watchful," in view of the grace they were to receive at the "revelation (ἐν ἀποκαλύψει) of Jesus Christ," which is here used as a present and perpetual motive to earnest and continuous fidelity, though they were not to see it.

If, then, these expressions of such chief apostles—and there are very many of the same kind—refer to the event indicated by the writer whose words we have quoted, they were certainly designed to influence the personal religious life of those addressed through the anticipation of something that we now know was not to occur in time to have any manifest effect upon them or their affairs. If the apostles expected Christ's Second Coming within their own generation, they were certainly in error, and their exhortations based upon that expectation were founded on a misconception; if, on the contrary, they had no definite expectation in respect to the time of that event, but only foresaw it in the indefinite future, but still used it as a stimulus to present expectant watchfulness, their truthfulness and moral honesty will need to be vindicated; and the burden of that service must rest on those who place those holy men in such an uncomfortable dilemma.

Our writer intimates, in the sentence cited near the beginning of this paper, that others have given a variety of interpretations to the proof-texts which he claims for his doctrine; and in our inability to accept without question his exclusive interpretation, we look to these for possible relief. Some of the commentaries make "the coming of the Lord" mean, for the individual, the day of his decease, which would save the accompanying exhortation from a great deal of irrelevancy. The prophet Joel spoke of "the great and terrible day of the Lord," and an apostle assured the infant Church that it referred to the events of the day of Pentecost. Some very respectable commentators understand the reference to the "coming of the Son of man," in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, to have been fulfilled at the destruction of Jerusalem, and so it has seemed to us in our most careful study of it. And in all the ages of the Church the prayer taught by Christ has been offered for the coming of the kingdom

of God; and that prayer has been broadened and deepened by the promised presence of the Master among his disciples, always, even to the end of the Gospel age. The whole Church prays and waits for Christ's coming, *in the power of his Spirit*, to establish his kingdom in the heart of all who will receive him. This is the advent for which the expectant Church ever waits and prays.

The promise of "Christ's coming" given immediately after his ascension, if accepted in its physical literalness, must also govern and interpret all other promises of his coming again. That promise had already been made at the Last Supper (John xiv, 3, 18, 28); and yet later on in the same discourse a decidedly, not to say exclusively, spiritual interpretation was given to it. But we are reminded that the "coming" announced at the ascension was to be "*in like manner* as ye have seen him go into heaven," which it is claimed cannot possibly mean any thing else than that he shall appear visibly to men's outward vision—certainly to that of those on the same side of the world—in his material body. But must it not appear that an expression so very indefinite, and which may so readily be made to include more or less, is hardly alone sufficient to sustain a great Christian dôctrine—to be commended to the faith of all who have hope in Christ's "appearing?" In another place we have written: "It will not do to make such a use of ὸν τρὸπον as to require that the promised *coming again* of the Lord shall conform to all the merely accidental conditions of his ascension. It was clearly promised that his departure was not final, and [it was] in part at least, a reiteration of his own promise before given (John xiv, 3) that he would come again."

It is known to all who are at all acquainted with Church history, that from the earliest times to the present there has been with some the expectation of the coming of Christ in the near future—in his material body—to become a potentate and civil ruler among men; and it is equally well-known that this belief and expectation has uniformly been a cause of disturbance, and a hinderance to the progress of the Gospel. It was an element of the Montanism of the early Church, and the distinctive Chiliasm that marked its way of ruin through the ages. In modern times it was seen in the "Fifth-monarchy men" of Cromwell's time. A terrible fanatical outbreak of it among some very good people took place under the ministry of Rev. Edward Irving in London in our own day; while in America, under the name of Millerism, it overran the land and spread disaster and spiritual blight through the Churches. Its career and influences every-where clearly demonstrate that the expectation of a physical return of Christ to the earth, as it is based on a misconception of the essential nature of Christ's kingdom, has uniformly operated disastrously in proportion to its definiteness and intensity. With the truly spiritually-minded Christian it suffices that he is permitted to labor in faith as the Master has appointed, assured that if faithful till death he will receive a crown of life; and in this hope he finds all needed incentives to endure to the end, to fight the good fight of faith, and dying go to his recompense.

The Millennium, as a literalistic and materialistic conception, is insep-

arable from that of the materialistic Second Advent. In one of the most obscure and enigmatical parts of that most unintelligible of all the books of the New Testament—the Apocalypse—which scarcely any two commentators agree in expounding, it is related how an angel laid hold on Satan and bound him for a *thousand years*, during which time the risen saints lived and reigned with Christ. This thousand years—whether reckoned by the circuit of the sun or by some other kind of cycle does not appear—is to be the Millennium, which men now speak of as once they did of the Greek Calends, and equally without any basis of rational evidence. The conception of a sensuous and materialistic reign of Christ on earth, as it has not originated in any thing found in the Bible, so it has seemed very difficult to torture any thing that is contained in the inspired volume so as to harmonize with that essentially heathen idea. Our study of this whole subject, which we have pursued all along as a learner willing to be taught, has altogether failed to bring even approximate conviction that there is any legitimate ground to expect any thing in the future of the Church answering at all to an outward and material Second Advent or Millennium. Neither the Old nor the New Testament tells us any thing about it.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

The International Status of the Pope is regarded among foreign jurists as a question of so much importance that a noted authority has just issued an extensive treatise on the subject. The author declines to grant the Pope the powers of a sovereign, mainly for the reason that he is in no condition to assert his rights as other sovereigns of Europe, namely, with musket and cannon. But this seems rather faulty reasoning, as it simply asserts the absence of the power, but not of the right. Apart from the fact that the Pope, when in full possession of the States of the Church, was in no condition to wage war with any European great power, one will hardly desire to maintain that the recent changes in his relations have made him the subject of any power. He therefore seems to hold the anomalous position of being neither subject nor sovereign.

But, on the other hand, he would seem to hold an international position from the fact that he possesses an exterritoriality and a sovereign position by virtue of the guaranty law of the Italian government, which is recognized by other nations in sending to him their representatives for diplomatic intercourse, who are directly or indirectly acknowledged as such. This is done by some other powers because the spiritual subjects of the Pope are found among their subjects, whom they would protect in their spiritual interests and rights. The Pontiff certainly, even now, possesses many international attributes; among these are exterritoriality, inviolability, irresponsibility, an independent jurisdiction, and his own military

organization, though a very small one. But all this, it is seen, does not protect him from what he regards as violence on the part of the Italian government, which now interprets and manages the guaranty law quite differently from the sense in which it was originally understood.

It were well if this fact could bring the Holy See to the conviction that it were better not to desire to make its kingdom one of this world, but to lay aside carnal weapons and depend wholly on those of the Spirit. For even in the flourishing periods of the papacy it gained its victories not by the power of the flesh, but by its spiritual weapons, which were mighty over the minds of men. Now, it were well for the Church to enter into no conflict with the modern State, but rather to be satisfied to be in the service of the King of kings. The world is too much inclined at present to contest the claim of the pope of being the representative of the apostle Peter, to say nothing of being the vicar of Christ on earth. With these weak places in the line of spiritual rule, it seems quite inconsistent to claim worldly sovereignty on the basis of the former rule in the States of the Church. The whole is rather a legal fiction, and one too weak to be expanded into a secular right at the present period. Many intelligent Catholics of the period are of the conviction that the former temporal possessions of the Church were just large enough to embarrass the pontiff in the execution of his spiritual power, but by no means strong enough to give him any assistance in temporal rule; and therefore, from the spiritual and ecclesiastical stand-point, temporal power is a loss rather than a gain.

Students' Duels in German Universities are now being discussed with much earnestness in the religious press of that country; and we are astonished to see that this is the case just now, largely from the fact that the Minister of Public Worship has spoken favorably of them on certain public occasions. The matter has also reached the Prussian Diet, in which a distinguished member of the Left declared that the class of students that engage in duels are loyal to their Fatherland, their duty, and their vocation.

Now to understand why such a thing is possible we must know, in the first place, that students' duels are generally frauds, with our understanding of the word. In the great majority of them there is no personal ill-will, and no intent to do any serious injury—and indeed no intent to receive any. Before they go into the conflict they bundle and pad themselves in such a manner that the foil cannot possibly touch any portion of the body but the face, and here the effort is merely to make a slash and leave a scar, which is considered a mark of honor instead of a brand. The students who become members of the "dueling corps," as they are called, are naturally those who have peculiar views of manly honor, and think this the best way of showing their courage in defense of their position. The body of students in Germany, is generally divided between the "corps" students, who fight from principle, and those who do not, for the same reason. As a general rule the former are a wild, lawless

set, who are quite ready to impose on other people in defending their own dignity. Many of them do little else than fight and drink and boast of the scars that disfigure their faces for life.

The important question just agitating the breasts of the thousands of young men now leaving the Gymnasia for the Universities is as to which party to make allegiance, and the belligerent spirit is now more rife than usual under the spur above named. To their shame be it said, that defenders of the duel are found even among theological students, and the question is even soberly discussed in pastoral conferences, because there also may be found men who in their university years distinguished themselves as skillful swordsmen.

It would seem, from the tone of the journals, that parents are generally opposed to it, and are doing their best to bring the practice into disrepute, as they spend many anxious hours in regard to their sons while exposed to possible dangers, or while suffering from wounds. The miserable nonsense is certainly a disgrace to German university life, and sometimes by accident ends in the death of some young man, when for a time there is a great outcry that soon subsides, and the abuse continues. It seems clear that the nonsensical fraud is demoralizing many of the noblest youth of Germany, and it is high time for the religious press to expose its folly. The custom is neither moral nor Christian, we need hardly say, and is antagonistic to the entire spirit of Christianity; and he who excuses or defends it departs from all spirit of the Gospel of Christ. And as for courage, it is quite clear that it costs more of this to reject than to indorse the practice.

The late Lenten Sermons in Rome seem to have caused considerable disgust, from their evidently worldly character. They treated of every other subject but Christ crucified. They have sunk to the character of an event in the religious world after the wild follies of the Carnival. The Romans now go to these occasions to hear orators rather than preachers; and for this purpose thousands were daily gathered in the cathedrals, as the ancient Romans went to the forum.

The Pope followed the usual custom of summoning to him the lenten preachers, and calling their attention to the importance of their sermons in the central city of Christendom. But, if these sermons are so significant, why not teach these prelates to exercise a little apostolic activity? It is particularly noticeable that the cardinals preach no more sermons: they seem to be too busy with political matters; or it is suggested that they consider this beneath their dignity. It might be well were the Pope himself to set the example of proclaiming the divine word instead of delivering allocutions about the degeneracy of the period and the injustice of the government.

Nearly all the lenten preachers of Rome belong to the religious orders; this year they came from the Capuchins, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits. A very small number of the preachers were active priests in charge of pulpits. It is considered a great honor to appear as a "lenten

preacher" in Rome; and the opportunity opens the channel to a career of greatness for which reason many of the monks strive for the honor through protection at court. And the pulpit itself has much to do with the honor attached to the duty. Certain churches draw the fashionable and intelligent crowd. This year a Jesuit father carried off the honor of filling the pulpit of St. Peter's, showing the influence this order possesses at the Vatican. As the pulpits are of various grades, so are the attendants and the fee. This latter is worth having, and is generally paid from the revenues of the respective churches, or sometimes by lay corporations or church collections.

The secular press of Rome pays a good deal of attention to these sermons, as they are popular or fashionable events; and this year their criticisms on the sermons were very acrid. According to the most of these, the efforts were little more than specimens of spiritual rhetoric; not dealing in any way with the great religious or social problems of the period. They were full of complaints or accusations about the degeneracy of the age toward the sacredness of the Church, and contained not the slightest whisperings of the divine voice which invites man to prayer and communion with God. The great moral duties to one's neighbor, and religious ones toward God, were not mentioned. It was but little if any better in other Italian cities. In Turin the preacher complained that the families of the upper classes no longer give their sons to the ecclesiastical profession. The most marked feature of the period was the absence in the Pastoral Letters of appeal for the restoration of the temporal power. Are the bishops tired of this struggle, or do they give it up? The Pope still clings to this phantom in his latest Allocution, and anew sends forth the watchword that there is to be no reconciliation as long as he is a prisoner in the Vatican, because if he leaves it he treads on foreign soil.

Sabbath Observance in the German Parliament.—This very important matter has so greatly agitated the mind of the German people that a bill has just been introduced into the German Parliament to restrict labor, or at least hours of labor, on the Sabbath. The unfortunate feature of the case is the partisan division in support or objection. The bill was presented by the commission for the protection of working-men; and its restrictions are, that labor on the Sabbath shall not be obligatory except in a few very necessary instances, and the extent of these to be determined by the administrative authorities. It is enough to say that the Radicals of all shades supported the bill, as did the Catholic element in the House.

The Liberals, however, with Bismarck at the front, objected to the bill, and preferred to have the whole thing referred to a commission of inquiry to report more fully on the measure. This action looked much like an endeavor to kill it by Parliamentary circumlocution and delay. Bismarck surprised and astonished his friends by the position he assumed toward the proposition. He saw in the bill simply a framework for something much more perfect to come, and therefore favored a special commission for this purpose. Many industries could not dispense with work on the

Sabbath, and he did not believe that the working-men would wish to be restrained by law from working on the Sabbath, if they so desired. They would thereby lose quite a percentage of their wages, which most of them could not do without suffering. He believed it not desirable to enjoin by law how men should spend their Sabbath, especially if the loss of their pay would bring hunger into their families. And in conclusion he did not believe that the working-men demanded it or would be grateful for it.

To these marvelous sophistries from such a source, which seemed inspired with the anger experienced at the treatment of some of his own propositions for the aid and protection of the working classes, the following replies were made by various members, especially by those of the Center: Sunday is a divine provision, and the demand for rest on that day is laid down in the ten commandments, and cannot be controverted by Pharisaical interpretation. In England, and in the United States, the Sabbath is strictly observed, and the divine blessing seems to crown their industrial interests. The Chancellor argues solely from a material stand-point, and neglects the higher ethical and Christian view of the question. A Socialist deputy invited the Chancellor to visit the manufacturing regions, where he could see the pale and pinched faces of the laborers who day after day are obliged to breathe the bad air of the factories, when he would certainly be in favor of granting to these operatives the Sunday at least on which to rest and enjoy a little fresh air. To all this Bismarck replied: "I do not believe in the sincerity of these counsels. I believe that agitators are hurrying on this movement with a view to sow more of the seeds of discontent, and I am not in favor of premature action in a matter of so much importance." No determination was reached, and the question goes over till the next session.

Protestantism in Vienna receives very scant favors, notwithstanding the many fine phrases bestowed on it some years ago, during a period of liberal feeling. There is in that capital a Protestant theological faculty with a small school struggling for existence under great difficulty. The school has been held in a private establishment in very confined quarters, because, they say, there was no room in the University building to accommodate it. Now the old University is a dark, dank, tumble-down structure that has long outlived its usefulness, and measures were taken years ago to build a new edifice worthy of the second capital of the continent.

It was understood that in this building rooms would be reserved for the Protestant faculty, though this reservation was always couched in cabalistic terms. As the new edifice approached completion it was whispered that the Protestant faculty would not be allowed to darken its doors. And sure enough, on the day of the dedication, the leader of the faculty of the Catholic school of theology besought the emperor that his body might not be annoyed or straitened in the new edifice. These words were not without their effects, and there is still no room for the Protestant

teachers and their pupils. But it seems there is plenty of room for singing-clubs, reading-rooms, and benevolent associations, as well as for museums for Egyptian mummies and heathen gods. According to the Catholic theological rector of the University, these are more in place in the building than his Protestant enemies, and that officer threatens, in case any move is made to receive the unwelcome school, that he will besiege the emperor with a new deputation that will overwhelm him. The latest information reports that the four faculties have also voted against their admission, even the Liberals turning against the Protestant school. The result is, that it does not enter the new building, notwithstanding all the promises, but in reality is relegated to worse quarters in a government building than it has occupied for the last thirty years. So much, therefore, for Austrian liberalism and justice to the Protestant subjects of the realm.

THE RECENT ANNIVERSARIES in Paris of the various Protestant religious and benevolent associations seemed to be in nowise affected by the serious agitation in political circles. There was a great deal of genuine Christian activity, notwithstanding the withdrawal of government support in large measure for their financial needs. They still kept up their contributions to their normal standard for home and foreign missions, and various charities, besides raising by voluntary gifts enough to replace the bursaries of the theological seminaries, showing that when the final blow comes in the matter of government subsidy they will be prepared to meet it. The Reformed Church is well and wisely learning the valuable lesson of self-support. In the meanwhile, they are discussing their religious needs with new vigor; and are more inclined than ever to turn to the consideration of deep and important spiritual matters. There was one very brilliant discussion of a purely theological character, on the question of conditional immortality, adversely reported on by a committee.

THE WELL-KNOWN PASTORS of the Reformed Church of France, Sabatier and Puaux, have been examining French Algeria on the shore opposite to France, with a view to study its religious needs, and perhaps to introduce there a mission work. They find the very active Archbishop Lavigerie straining every nerve, in order to establish his religion among Mohammedans and Jews, but they notice more mosques and synagogues than evidences of the growth of the Catholic Church in that region. This is no fault of the distinguished prelate who has just been raised to the rank of Cardinal for his devotion to the interests of the Church throughout Africa. He and his helpers find it hard to oppose the religion of the sword by the religion of love; the Mohammedans do not like their French oppressors, and have but little faith in their religion. The gentlemen above named think the only solution of the question is, to colonize Algeria largely with Frenchmen, so as to crowd the others to the wall. In the Catholic churches they saw crowds of Spanish, Italians, and Maltese, but no white burnoos of the native tribes.

The Germans have long been terribly annoyed by the tramp nuisance, which the authorities have in no wise remedied. At last the religious element of the country has taken this and the other matters of popular charities in its hand, headed by a noted philanthropist known to them as Pastor Bodelschwing. He has founded a "working colony," where all idlers are to work out their troubles and replenish their hungry stomachs. This colonization of tramps has been very successful, and is likely to be imitated by other sections of the country. The men that are taken up as idle ragamuffins and vagabonds are generally discharged as clean and spry-looking working-men, and most of them have been convinced that the easiest way of making a living is by the sweat of the brow. The success of the experiment is encouraging the people to contribute means for the continuance of the work, as being the wisest and most economical way of getting relief from the marauding idlers who had become the terror of the rural districts.

A great Papal Revival is announced in the southern Tyrol, which was set on foot during the lenten sermons. The Tyrol, it is well known, clings more closely to ultramontanism than any other land in Christendom. This extended to many parts of northern Italy, especially to the old city of Bologna, whose Cathedral is one of the largest of Italy. The Italian-speaking Tyrolese exert a large influence over their confreres in Italy, and their sympathies generally beat in unison. Therefore we learn that the churches were frequently so full that it was necessary to call in the armed police to close the doors for fear of panic and accident. The final sermon on Easter Monday seemed by common consent to be adopted as a period for grand demonstrations in favor of the most conservative clergy. The masses that could not obtain admittance to some of the churches greeted the preacher on his appearance at the door, kissing the hem of his garment, and insisting on taking the horses from his carriage and drawing him to his home in some quite distant convent, accompanied by a shouting multitude who insisted on a blessing before departing.

Luther Celebrations.—Among the peculiar creations of the days of the Luther celebrations was a delineation of the principal events of his life. This "Luther spectacle" was presented as a drama, and drew such crowds that there was a demand for its repetition last year, when the crowds grew larger and larger, and gave birth to the desire to have an annual presentation of it, as a means of enlightening the people as to the character and work of Luther. The university town of Jena has taken up this thought, and a few months ago a "Luther Dramatic Association" was formed to further this idea. Devrient, the author of the drama, has presented it to that city on condition that a new dramatic temple shall be constructed that will be in all respects adapted to the needs of the piece, and the association above named is now calling for aid in the enterprise, on all who feel that a panoramic life of Luther, presented to young and old for a certain period annually, will do much

toward extending and deepening the Protestant consciousness, and giving it a firmer root in the hearts of the people.

The Great Temple of Luxor in Egypt was three years ago completely surrounded with houses, cabins, and factories. Since that time, Maspero, director of the Egyptian museum in Cairo, with money collected by the "Times," of London, and the "Journal des Debats," in Paris, has virtually exhumed the noble monument, or will do so before he quits his work. He has engaged one hundred and fifty hired laborers, men, women, and children, and a goodly number of volunteers, who find their compensation in the saltpeter that is found in the ruins, and which acts as a profitable restorative to their exhausted lands. On the southern side the temple is fully cleared, and it now comes to light that this and a portion of the northern side were washed directly by the waters of the Nile. The lower wall, composed of heavy stones that served as a quay, bears the name of Amenophis III. Other new features are daily coming to light that give a far better comprehension of the style and design of the monument than has been hitherto had, and which will make it more than ever worthy of a visit from the curious and the learned.

The Christian Museum of the Berlin University, thanks to its founder and tireless worker, Professor Piper, is now attaining such proportions as to claim the dignified title of Museum for the Study of Christian Archæology, and it is highly prized by the pupils of that study in the University. It will soon contain a wealth of art in this line that can be found nowhere else outside of Rome. There are casts of inscriptions, gems, sarcophagi, copies of valuable works in metal, and also copies of famous pictures and engravings, the best of the religious ones of modern times. In addition to these there is an excellent library, and a goodly number of originals in marble and ivory and silver, which are of great value for Christian art of the ancient periods. No one who comprehends their importance for the better study of Christian antiquity will grudge the time now required to pass through the enlarged apartments of the University where all these treasures are gathered. And the learned savant whose genius called all these together will find in them the most fitting monument to his memory.

The Baltic provinces of Russia are largely settled by Germans, who went thither under the express agreement that they might freely exercise their Lutheran religion and use their German tongue. For years it has been rumored that Russia intended to withdraw this privilege, and this act has now been accomplished. A ukase, recently issued, orders that all district schools shall be reorganized and classified, and that the Russian tongue shall be obligatory. All schools controlled by cities, corporations, or private individuals may present their appeal to the government to continue the German, and the appeal will be considered by a commission. But history and geography must be taught in Russian, and the language itself must be taught, where it is not understood. And again, those who

desire the Lutheran religion must be taxed for its support, but those peasants who belong to the Greek Church need pay no tithes. This makes a great temptation for them to leave their Church, and in one diocese near Dorpat two hundred have gone over to the Greek Church to avoid the payment of Church dues.

The so-called Free Schools in Paris, supported by the Catholic Church in opposition to the secular schools of the State, have just made their annual report to the diocesan association. Since the public schools were secularized, two or three years ago, 16,000,000 francs have been collected in that city for the support of the free Catholic schools. The number of these schools has greatly increased within this period, and now there are nearly two hundred of them, with 70,000 pupils—about as many as are in the city schools. In the provinces the same work is being carried on, and in this latter period these have contributed 200,000,000 francs for that purpose. The clerical teachers are making some invidious comparisons; namely, that while the city is paying 10,000,000 francs for its teaching, the Catholic schools do the same amount of work for 3,500,000. The reason of this, however, is clear when we learn that the clerical schools are taught by members of the fraternities whose compensation is very small, and whose teaching capacity is of about the same grade. There is now no lack of good secular teachers; several thousand young women are enrolled and waiting for places.

The System of Deaconesses seems to be taking very deep roots in the Christian benevolent operations of Europe, and of Germany especially. The order has increased within three years about nine hundred, although some have died, and a goodly number have withdrawn for various reasons. The increase in workers and fields of labor has been about twenty per cent. within three years. The growth in numbers would be much more rapid were it not for the severity of the duties, which rapidly decreases the members, as they retire as invalids or for a period of rest and convalescence. Money seems to come to them quite freely for the continuance of their work, and therefore a good many new mother-houses have been established quite lately, although the demand always exceeds the supply. The latest call was from Constantinople and other cities near the Greek and Turkish borders. The oldest institution was founded at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, twenty-five years ago, and since that time the growth has been marvelous. Their present status is, in brief: Of mother-houses, 54; of sisters, 5,653; and of fields of labor, 1,742.

Swiss Christians are now having certain trials with their public-school system with which we can fully sympathize. They find it absolutely necessary to yield to the demand to take religious teaching out of the popular schools. The movement is made by the Radicals, but a good many Conservatives yield with a heavy heart because in the present era of liberalism they see no possibility of obtaining either teachers or compromises by which all confessions would be satisfied. They have therefore

come to the conclusion that the only way is to leave religious teaching to the respective Churches. The Christian portion of the community yield the more willingly to this measure because their confidence in the civil schools has been shaken on account of the way in which teachers are now largely appointed; namely, by partial or partisan influences. Such teachers are, as a rule, in no way fitted to impart religious instruction, and the only way to secure this will be the establishment of the so-called "free schools," supported by the respective denominations.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

William Taylor's Mission.—Letters from the mission party of Bishop William Taylor state that one of the missionaries, Charles L. Miller, of Baltimore, has died of the fever. He refused all medical aid, believing that his faith in God would avail for the preservation of his health. Bishop Taylor and others remonstrated with him and urged him to submit to treatment by a physician, but he refused. He was in delirium the last ten or twelve days before he died. When, some time before he became delirious, Dr. Johnson examined him and found his temperature 105, and told him he would die if he did not take medicine, he replied, "Well, then, I'll die, for I wont take any medicine." Several members of the party had been sick with the fever, but none seriously. The Bishop writes concerning Mr. Miller's peculiar views:

> We have none remaining among us here who advocate the extreme view of this subject. We all believe in holiness, and daily receive and trust Jesus and the Holy Sanctifier for its realization. We also believe in direct healing of the body by faith, when a reason exists in the mind of God for it in any case, and the divine will is manifested to the individual by the Holy Spirit—and we know of many indisputable facts demonstrating this thing—but do not believe that we are justified in refusing to trust in God in the use of well-tested remedies by means of medical skill. God has given to our party three good medical missionaries, who are of incalculable value to us. We thank God for them, and ask God's blessing on their skill, and receive it.

The Angola government has received the party very kindly, and has offered to give land for mission purposes in suitable places. In a letter written on the 13th of April the Bishop said the party would remain in their healthful quarters in St. Paul de Loando until the return of the governor from a visit to another province, which would be in about six weeks. The detention, he thought, was providential, because March and April were the two sickly months of the year, and it would be well to get through with the acclimatizing fever in a healthy place, and because none of the missionaries yet knew enough of the Portuguese language to travel or transact business. The Bishop continues:

> So the Lord has arranged that we shall all stay on this high hill, in the range of the daily sweep of the breezes from the sea, in a large commodious house and spacious ground; so that altogether the delay in our transit is a special provi-

dence of our gracious Father, for purposes of love and mercy. I think, moreover, that he will have the large families remain in these comfortable quarters until we can provide mission homes for them in their respective fields of labor. This is not out of line of our anticipation of how he might lead us. You know how in the beginning I said, "We cannot tell whether the Lord will lead us a thousand miles inland at once, or whether we shall plant a line of stations from the coast inward; the latter most probably." We did not anticipate so cordial a welcome and such liberal proposals on the part of the Angola government, and hence will probably plant more stations in this province than we expected; which will furnish a broader base for operations in the far interior, for we have no thought of changing our plan of planting our missions consecutively across the continent, D. V.

As to his plans for the future the Bishop writes:

The present force, however, will not man over eight stations, extending probably five hundred miles into the interior. Meantime we shall have an exploring party out, to open up new fields for new expeditions to come along next year; and having the way opened, they may not be subject to the delays which we, as pioneers, must expect to have. This delay affects our transit current expense account. I could not anticipate the interior cost of the transit of our missionaries. The cost to Loanda was about $160 per passenger, counting two children under twelve years as one passenger. For thirty-seven or thirty-eight passengers that made a large aggregate expense; and yet $160 is but a little over one half the cost of passage to Chili or to India. We pay here $50 per month for our house and premises, and nearly every thing we buy is at a very high price. Flour is $20 per barrel; the poorest quality of brown sugar nine cents per lb. Nearly one dollar a day for water delivered for our company; fifty or sixty cents per day for wood. Happily through the kindness of our friends, we have a supply of staple provisions that will last us a few weeks longer. Anticipating a quick march into the interior, we expected to pay our way in goods, and not in money. We have a good supply of the kinds of currency demanded in the interior, but it is not available in Angola at all, for every thing here has to be paid for in hard cash. Providentially our friend ——— gave me $1,000 for the purchase of mission property in Loanda, or if that should not be found to be practicable, then to use it for the comfort of the missionaries on arrival. It would require $8,000 to buy this fine property we occupy. It cost the owner $15,000, so we cannot buy, but we occupy it, and save valuable lives by doing so, through the forecast and generosity of dear Brother ———. I think we shall have material for the interior travels of the next expedition, who will pass directly into the interior, to compensate largely for the extra cash we shall require in settling our present force as indicated. I cannot say how much will be required, but will report every detail of expenditure in due time. We will securely store in Loanda the goods we may not require for the present expedition, in reserve for the next.

Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior, some three hundred miles from the coast, and had selected four places as suitable for stations:

First, Pambos, four miles east of Dondo, the head of steamboat navigation on the Coanza River. Dondo has a population of about 5,000, but is a low, hot, sickly place. Pambos is high, healthy, and fertile, and from that point we can work Dondo as well. Second is N'Dumba, fifty-three miles east of Pambos—a large native town of caravan rendezvous, and having a fine country surrounding it. Third, Sangue, twenty-eight and a half miles distant from N'Dumba. Langue is in the midst of a charming country for scenery and productiveness, with a large native population. From that point we can work a large town called Pungo Andongo, but not a healthy place for residence, nor a productive place for agricultural resource. At or near every large center of work we want to open an industrial school farm, where we can teach the natives handiwork, besides a knowledge of letters. Fourth, Malange, eighty miles from Langue (pronounced Langa). Malange is an important town, and a great base of supplies for caravans for all parts of the interior. It is a fine agricultural country, and a good climate—which

is true of all the places named—high above the region of mosquitoes and miasma swamps.

We go about one hundred and seventy miles by steam to Dondo to reach the places named, then by foot to the several designations. At this end we expect to leave a working force in Loanda, and we are looking up a site for an industrial school farm on the Bengo River, which empties into the sea seven miles north of this.

Since writing the above Rev. Ross Taylor, son of the Bishop, has arrived in New York, and passed onward to California. He had with him his wife and four children—under six years old. He returned because he found that the climate would certainly prove fatal to his children, though his own health and that of Mrs. Taylor was good.

Mission Work among the Dakotas.—It has been fifty years since the first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. T. S. Williamson, M.D., and J. D. Stevens, and Mr. A. G. Huggins, with their wives, were sent by the American Board to Fort Snelling to labor among the Dakotas. For many years the mission of the American Board was the only mission in all that region; but now three societies have agents at work among the tribe, which numbers about 40,000, and is, therefore, the largest tribe in this country. The three societies are, the Presbyterian Boards of Home and of Foreign Missions, and the American Missionary Association. The last has taken the interest of the American Board, which has become exclusively a foreign society. Since the mission was opened in May, 1835, fourteen ordained missionaries have been connected with it. This includes the agents of the three societies now at work. Dr. Williamson labored forty-four years, Dr. S. R. Riggs, forty-six years, and the Rev. John P. Williamson twenty-five years. In the first forty years of the mission the average force employed was one ordained and two female missionaries. In the past ten years large boarding-schools have been established, and more agents were required. It took thirty years to produce the first native missionary, the Rev. John B. Renaille. Now there are ten native missionaries, and they are very earnest, zealous, efficient workers. There are also a number of lay preachers. All the ruling elders are enjoined on being installed into office to exercise their gifts in this way. They visit destitute places under direction of the missionaries, and sometimes make long missionary tours. The Rev. John P. Williamson, who has been for twenty-five years a missionary among the Dakotas, in a semi-centennial review, thus speaks of the growth of the mission :

The Lord has given many gracious manifestations of converting power in the Dakota Mission. The *early success* was remarkable. The first year three professed Christ; the second, four; the third, nine; the fourth, ten; the fifth, five. Considering their limited knowledge, the steadfastness of these first converts is also remarkable. If a single one has apostatized I do not know it.

But the most remarkable work of grace was at the commencement of the second-quarter century, and just after the dark hours of the Minnesota massacre. In 1862 the whole number of Church members was only about 66. In 1863 there were added to the Church 350. In 1864, 150 were added, and in 1865 about 100. Nearly one half of these were men in military prisons. That a wonderful enthusiasm had taken hold of them could not be doubted, but the circumstances

were such as to lead some to doubt their sincerity. Subsequent events have removed all doubts as to the reality of those spiritual impressions. It was truly a wonderful work—it was the Spirit molding the heart of a nation. To live and preach in one of those years was worth a life-time. Every sermon was as the stamping of a die upon plastic hearts; and woe be to the workman who used a deformed die!

This awakening may be said to have continued nearly ten years. Then came a period of comparative lethargy. From 1873 until 1882 the membership only advanced 29. But there was encouragement in other lines, as we shall presently see. And in the last three years we are permitted again to see decided progress. In that time the membership has been advanced about 200, bringing the total number to nearly 1,000.

The Dakotas have been among the poorest of the Indian tribes. Many have died of starvation, but their contributions have been quite generous. Last year their offerings reached $2,400, and from the beginning they have given some $22,000. The first contribution was noted in 1849. It was $10. The history of the life of the father of the Dakota Mission, Dr. Thomas P. Williamson, is one of thrilling adventures, great hardships, privations, and unremitting labor. When he arrived at Fort Snelling, near what is now the city of St. Paul, Minn., it was in a wilderness. The log-house he built for himself and wife was a very lonely one. The winters were terrible. The little hut was almost buried by the snow-drifts, and sometimes starvation would stare the brave inmates in the face. Their horses were shot, their cows stolen or poisoned, and often they were in danger from drunken Indians. But their lives of disinterested devotion won even the savage, and when the massacre of 1862 came, the Christian Indians remained loyal to a man, and imperiled their own lives to save those of the whites. "Hundreds of settlers, through the courage and the sagacity of the Christian Indians, were aroused in time for flight, and then led through the woods and over the prairies to the forts, or hidden and fed until troops arrived and the uprising was quelled."

Dr. Williamson preached the first Gospel sermon ever heard in Minnesota, and organized the first church of whites.

Fifty Years of the Basle Mission.—One of the most active and successful of the continental missionary societies is the Basle, which has just entered upon the second half of its first century. Its field is South India, where it has four missions, Canara, South Mahratta, Malabar, and Nilgiri. Mangalore, in the Canara mission, was the first station, and was occupied in October, 1834. The newest station, Bijapur, in the South Mahratta mission, is not yet a year old; but half of twenty stations reported by the society were founded before 1850. The present number of missionaries, male and female, is 113, and there are many native agents. The total of communicants is 4,150. The semi-centennial report of the society says the people are becoming more and more friendly. They invite the missionaries to their houses, and seek with confidence for spiritual information. The women are showing a remarkable interest in the Gospel—those of the higher as well as those of the lower castes. The mission maintains 92 schools, with 4,447 scholars, of whom 1,028 are females.

German Missionary Societies.—Dr. R. Grundemann, than whom there is no better authority on mission history and statistics, gives in the "Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift" for June tables of statistics of the German missionary societies. He includes fourteen societies, and shows that they have 342 stations, 517 European and 2,564 native missionaries, 72,706 communicants, 193,975 adherents, and 40,643 scholars in schools. Of the 342 stations, 152 are in Africa, four in Palestine, 64 in India, 24 in the Indian Archipelago, 12 in China, six in Australasia and Polynesia, and 80 in America.

Some of the Horrors of the African Slave Traffic.—It is to be hoped that the Congo Free State, which has began its career under such favorable auspices, will be able soon to break up the slave trade which is so rapidly depopulating some of the most productive territory of interior Africa. A large part of the slaves sent to Zanzibar are captured in the country lying between Lake Tanganyika and the Congo. An English missionary has recently visited this region from the Mtua station of the Universities, and writes of it and of the capture of slaves as follows:

In Manyuema I have seen one of the fields whence slaves are obtained—where it may be said they are grown, reaped, and harvested; or, more correctly, where they are parked, shot, or captured, as the case may be. For until slaves are needed, they are permitted to thrive in their small, unprotected villages, to plant their corn, to attend their plantations and improve their dwellings; to quarrel in that soft, mild manner peculiar to simple and not over strong-minded savages, which does little harm to any body. When, however, there is a growing demand for slaves—a revival of trade—Moeni Dugumbi of Nyangwé, Mohammed bin Nasser of Kasessa, Mohammed bin Said of Mwana-Mamba, each settled at an angle of a large triangular district, invite their friends and dependents for a few days' shooting, just as an English nobleman invites his friends to grouse or deer-shooting. Now, in this general shooting it is understood, of course, that all men found carrying spears should be considered dangerous, and shot and cut to pieces afterward; but the women and children and submissive adults are prizes which belong to the victors. The shooting of people on this scale is called a war, and a grievance for war is soon discovered, where the losses are always on the side of the simple savages. In a coarse, not always successful, manner the savages sometimes attempt to retaliate, and then follows another grievance and another war. Wadi Safeni, one of the captains in our expedition, said to me as we marched from Mwana-Mamba to Nyangwé, "Master, all this plain lying between Mwana-Mamba and Nyangwé, when I first came here, eight years ago, was populated so thickly that we traveled through gardens and fields and villages. Every quarter of an hour there were flocks of goats and droves of black pigs round every village; a bunch of bananas could be purchased for one cowrie; you can see what the country is now for yourself." I saw an uninhabited wilderness mostly; the country was only redeemed from utter depopulation by a small inhabited district at intervals of six hours' march, the people of which seemed to be ever on the *qui vive* against attack. I speak not in the hope that my remarks will have a feather's weight in checking the crime of slavery; but I wish to point out to you that there exists one narrow strip on the African coast, about equal to three English counties, which is enriching itself by wholesale murder, land-piracy, and commerce in human beings.

Fancy a camp about 100 yards wide and about 300 yards long, with its river-side flanked by the open river, and pitched up to the verge of a brown clay bank, very steep, about thirty feet deep; its land side protected by the doors of the houses, and the cane wall and beams and timbers, and tall door-like shields,

and gigantic drums; and within, a body of 300 fighting men, keeping in manacles and fetters 2,300 naked women and children, their poor bodies incrusted with dirt, and gray for want of ablution, all emaciated and weary through much misery. Of food they could get but little, having to struggle for what they could get out of a bunch of bananas, or a load of cassava roots carelessly thrown among them, as farmers' wives drop scraps and slops into pig-troughs. It was like a ravening human kennel, worse than four Bedlams emptied of their insane inmates and herded in a brick-field; a rancid effluvium of unwashed humanity pervaded the air, a meaningless and undistinguishable chatter of wretched mortals filled the ears, the eyes satiated with extremest misery. It was a sight I would not care to see again—it was a sight to make the angels weep—it was a sight cruel enough to make strong men curse and cry, "Vengeance on the murderers!"

This was the net result of the burning of 118 villages, and the devastation of forty-three districts. What was it all for? It was to glut the avaricious soul of a man who had constituted himself chief of a district some 200 miles higher up. Though over seventy-five years old, here he was prosecuting his murderous business, having shed so much human blood in three months that if collected into a tank it might have sufficed to have drowned him and all his thirty wives and concubines. Those 2,300 slaves would have to be transported over 200 miles of river water in canoes. They would have to be fed, of course, but how feed them with all the country against these sons of Ishmael! Then, such as could not be fed would die, and the river, God knows, was wide and deep enough to receive such. Now, how many of the people do you suppose will ever reach their destination? I estimate that perhaps 800, perhaps 900; and then the rest—why they die, of course.

Religion of the Impure and Outcast Tribes of the Punjab.—The "Indian Evangelical Review," a very valuable quarterly published in Calcutta in the interests of Christian missions in India, is bringing out a series of articles which throw light on the religion and religious practices of the impure and outcaste tribes of the Punjab. It is a curious fact that the higher castes do not generally recognize the outcaste races as belonging to their religion, even though the poor unfortunates strictly observe its tenets. The grade among the outcastes is regulated generally according to employment and food. Some are considered impure because of their employment, others because of their food. The scavengers are lowest. Next come the leather-workers, and then the weavers. When a scavenger accepts another religion he generally takes to leather-working, and the leather-worker advances to the grade of weaver by a similar process. Of the various impure castes in the Punjab there are upward of 2,000,000 Hindus, 173,000 Sikhs, 492 Mohammedans, and a few hundred Buddhists. Some of these are rejected and considered impure every-where, and by all classes; but the attitude toward the majority of them is due to difference of caste, to a difference of religion within each caste, and to the variance of local custom within each caste and religion in the various provinces. The writer, Mr. Ibbetson, says there is much ignorance as to the religious customs of the outcaste tribes.

Many of them are almost certainly aboriginal, and most of them have customs, beliefs, and worships peculiar to themselves; and a more accurate knowledge of their practices could hardly fail to be of the greatest assistance in the attempt to separate the aboriginal from the Aryan element in the current form of Hinduism, and to supply us with a most valuable standard by which to detect aboriginal survivals in the customs of tribes which now claim Aryan descent. To their own peculiar customs many of them have now added others, not only taken from

different religions, but often varying from place to place, and even from village to village in the same district, according to the religion of the villagers whom they serve; and the result is the most extraordinary medley of religious and semi-religious observances.

The Chumars, or leather-workers, are never recognized by Hindus, but the Mohammedans admit them to a participation in their rites. Those who are not converted to Mohammedanism are practically Hindus, and worship at the ordinary Hindu shrines, having a Brahman priesthood, who, by the higher Brahmans, are regarded as polluted by reason of the association. The Chumar believes that the good go direct to heaven, and the bad to hell. The Chumars who become weavers are received by the Sikhs. The scavengers are regarded as impure by all religions because of the nature of their employment.

Those who have not been converted from the faith of their fathers have a curious religion, which in its doctrine resembles Christianity more nearly than any thing else we have in India. They worship one supreme deity, without form or habitation, and believe that the good go to heaven as soon as they die, while the bad pass into punishment, but for a while only. They worship and make offerings of fowls and the like at a small earthen shrine, with a flag above it, which is dedicated to Lal Beg or Bala Shah, the high-priests of caste. They also have a class of Brahmans of their own, who will not eat with them, though they are, of course, themselves utterly polluted by intercourse with their clients. Some of them have abandoned scavengering and taken to leather-work, and are then known as Rangretas, and considered as of a higher order than the ordinary Mazbi. The Mussulman Chumars may be broadly divided into two classes: firstly, those who refuse to remove night-soil and have abandoned their hereditary occupation, at any rate in its most unsavory branches, who restrict themselves to pure food, and observe the ordinances of their faith; and, secondly, those who have made no such change. The former are generally admitted to the rites of their religion by the other Mussulmans; the latter are rejected.

The Sansi Gypsies have primitive ideas of religion. Their patron goddess is Devi, Goddess of Thieves. They wear the Hindu scalp-lock, shaving the rest of the head.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE "North American," which reached its seventieth year in June, keeps its place with great editorial tact and with a somewhat wearisome use of the symposium. The Catholic school policy is described by a friendly hand in the June number. Bishop J. J. Keane upholds the policy of separate schools for Catholics with much good writing and Romanistic logic, while M. C. O'Byrne declares that the public schools must be maintained as the safeguard of the State, and attempts to show that the Catholic schools do not give an adequate education to the citizen of to-day. It is not prejudice which compels us to say that the Bishop has the worst of it.

The paper of Gail Hamilton (Miss Abigail Dodge) will attract attention from the fact that Miss Dodge is a member of Mr. Blaine's family, and did good work for him in the late campaign. In discussing "Prohibi-

tion in Politics" she waxes indignant over the defeat of Mr. Blaine, and holds that the Prohibitionists have injured the cause they profess to have at heart. She is not wholly accurate in stating that the prohibitory action of the past is wholly due to one party. She holds a vigorous pen, but has too much passion for an historical writer. In our judgment, the prohibition element is likely to be more instead of less influential in the party contests of the future. One of the best of recent articles is the review of a curious English book on "Swearing." E. P. Whipple is always a graceful writer, and in this paper has done excellent service for clean-mouthed English. "How Shall Women Dress" is the title of a symposium which ought to have a wide circulation among those women who are accessible to reason as against the whims of fashion. It is pleasant to see in Judge Learned's paper on "The Tardiness of Justice," that the courts are coming to understand that the law's delays are not in the interest of the legal profession. Every thing which can be kept out of the courts is kept out. One of the reforms sought by the socialistic element is in this direction. That it should be in the power of lawyers to defeat practical justice, and absorb entire estates in the process of finding out to whom they belong, is a monstrous thing.

So few Americans ever come to a dignified and useful leisure that we are rejoiced to see that the veteran David Dudley Field is a shining exception to this rule of American life. The July number of the "North American" opens with a "Conversation between Mr. Field and Henry George on Land and Taxation," Mr. George defending his peculiar views concerning land as the source of revenue, and Mr. Field pointing out the absurdity and impracticability of the so-called reform. This conversation deserves the attention of the thoughtful, as it brings out the peculiar views of Mr. George in the light of acute but not unfriendly criticism. In "Two Years of Civil Service Reform," Mr. Eaton finds great encouragement for the friends of progress. He believes that much substantial improvement is visible, and answers the objections which have been made by the spoils advocate to the reform. There is still need to extend the operation of the rules. It is evident that this reform has come to stay, and that this is one of the questions to which unwilling candidates must give their attention; and that advance, and not retrogression, is to be the rule of the future. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, who is the most epigrammatic of modern preachers, discusses in this number the question, "Is Christianity Declining?" He finds evidence of a more vigorous life than at any period of its history, and gives the proof in such a way as to cause all to see who are not hopelessly blind. Gail Hamilton returns to the subject of Prohibition in this number, and can see little good in it, submitting her judgment in the following sentence: "The only hope of an unrestricted liquor traffic is in the Democratic party, and the one hope of the Democratic party is in the Prohibition party."

The best article we have seen on the Revised Old Testament is found in the "Andover Review" for June. Here Prof. C. M. Mead exhibits the

methods and the results of the Revisers in a calm and kindly critical spirit, and praises the work without feeling that it is absolutely perfect. Dr. Newman Smyth's third sermon on the Social Problems is printed, and as it is "On Social Helps," it is one of the most valuable of the series. It required great courage in Dr. Smyth to do the work he has done in the place in which he did it, and he has justified his position by the influence and sympathy gained from the classes he wished to benefit. We again call attention to the excellent series of papers by the Rev. Samuel W. Dyke on "The Religious Problem of the Country Town." Nothing better has appeared in recent magazine literature.

In the "Catholic World" for June there is a capital satire on the doings of the English "Society for Psychical Research." It gives an account of an imitation society at Scienceville, and presents the experiments of Dr. Positive, Prof. Dubitans, Mr. Festinans, Mr. Diatome, and others. There is also evidence that the Roman Church is rapidly falling into line with the most energetic movements for the reduction of the liquor traffic to its proper subordination to the interests of society. While thoroughly "Romish," the magazine is one of the most valuable, in a literary sense, of our exchanges. It is quite American in its subjects, and from a politic point of view is exceedingly well edited.

There is an article well worth reading in the May number of Lippincott's on the question, "Is the Monopolist Among Us?" It teaches with much force that causes are at work here which go far to undermine any attempts at monopoly building likely to be unfriendly to the interests of the people. The paper of special interest in the June number is, that which attempts to answer the question, "What Shall a Woman Do When her Husband Fails in Business?"

The change in the date of publication of the "Century" from the 20th of the month preceding its date to the first day of its date is one which takes it out of the line of early notice with its competitors. Nevertheless it is warranted by the fact that the means of communication are such that the numbers reach the reader in every part of the country, and even in Europe, within ten days of its issue. The series of papers on the Civil War continue to attract public attention, and the May number is especially rich in this respect. The frontispiece is a striking portrait of Gen. M'Clellan, who also contributes the account of the Peninsular Campaign. To this there are several *avant-couriers* from the pen of Confederate generals. General M'Clellan writes of the authorities at Washington in a complaining tone which has little response in the popular heart. The one thing he did not do was to capture Richmond. Making all allowance for the jealousy of rivals, Gen. M'Clellan was slow to a fatiguing and irritating point, and will in spite of all he can say be remembered as the Great Delayer. These articles are magnificently illustrated, while the general merit of the magazine does not suffer that these may excel. The discussion of the relations of "Immortality and Modern Thought," by the

Rev. T. T. Munger, in the number for May, is learned, rhetorical, and unsatisfactory. It has all the shadowiness and fine writing of the "New Theological School," and will not convince a doubter or greatly aid the faith of a believer.

The "Century" for June has a most interesting biographical sketch of the Herschel family, with portraits of the astronomers in the best American style. As the summer comes on the articles grow more breezy, and possess the interest of out-door life. Theodore Roosevelt hunts the Grizzly in a masterful fashion for the benefit of the June readers, and Mrs. Herrick describes that marvelous family, the Orchids.

But we have been especially struck with the paper of Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, on "How to Help the Negro." He tells some plain truths to his southern brethren, and confirms much of the criticism of the southern tone which has been so vigorously made by Mr. Cable. This paper indicates a growth of opinion which promises much for the Freedmen of the South at the hands of their neighbors. General Fitz John Porter, who has been the victim of great injustice in the judgment of many, writes an account of the battle of Gaines's Mill and its preliminaries, which is among the best of the war papers published in the remarkable series now issuing.

The difference between Watts, R.A. and Gustave Doré, has illustration in the frontispiece of the June Harper's. This is an engraving of Watts's picture of Paolo and Francesca as described in the Inferno of Dante. Doré's figures float and swirl through the air, but Watts's are heavy and unspiritual. But the expression of the lost lovers is finer in Watts than in Doré. Francesca's face has that expression of satisfied despair which is demanded by Dante's description. The matter of June Harper's is not above the average of this noble magazine. But it is good summer reading, and that is what it was intended to be. The July number is much stronger both in engravings and matter. The frontispiece is an engraving of Church's charming picture of Pandora's box, which is well worth study for its mastery of form and expression. F. Marion Crawford having worked out his vein as a novelist, has, as many of his predecessors have done, turned his attention to historical writing, and his account of "The Mohammedans in India" is extremely good. The illustrations of the monuments of this religion in India it would be hard to find equaled anywhere. Francis L. Mace has a fine poem on "Midsummer at Mount Desert," with illustrations which are both poetical and accurate. But like most of the magazine work on Mount Desert, it gives the credit of beauties which are not at Bar Harbor to that pretentious mass of hotels and cottages in which the railway and steam-boat companies have taken a great and speculative interest. No one who really knows Mount Desert is ignorant of the fact that Flying Mountain and the Sea Wall, and in short the greater number of the scenic beauties of the famous isle, are at South-west Harbor and not at Bar. We do not know of a greater triumph of speculative enterprise against natural advantages than that which has identified the hot and foggy Bar Harbor with Mount Desert, while

South-west Harbor has charms which in poem and photograph are continually attributed to its rival. The prosaic city of Buffalo takes on picturesque beauty in the paper by Jane Meade Welch, which is illustrated by some of the best engravings which have ever been given to the public. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr., writes entertainingly of Ampersand Lake and its surroundings, one of the most charming of the Adirondack retreats.

An article of great value and interest is that on "A Silk Dress," which traces that well-loved garment from the moth to the woman, who is never so well dressed as when she is arrayed in the shroud of an ugly grub. Mr. Howells has not ceased to write good stories. In this number he begins a new serial, entitled "Indian Summer," which promises to be equal to his best.

It is not possible to speak too highly of the July number of the "Century." It reaches the highest mark yet attained by this enterprising magazine. From a literary point of view the chief paper is that by Alphonse Daudet on Frederic Mistral, the *Provençal* poet, of whom a grand portrait is given as frontispiece. There is a distinct revival of interest in the *Provençal* dialect, and Mistral has given the impetus to the study of one of the most beautiful of the dialects of France. Mistral is a child of nature both as to himself and his poetry. Those who have not known him in the excellent translations by Miss Harriet W. Preston, will greatly enjoy the discovery of a genius made for them in this number.

Rose Kingsley opens the number with a fine description of Warwickshire, George Eliot's county. Many Americans who know England well enough to keep out of London as much as possible, will recognize the excellent engravings of the county which is the most rural and lovely which England can show. A point of particular interest in this paper is the identification of many of the places in George Eliot's works with well known localities in Warwickshire. "The Social Life of the Colonies" grows more interesting as Edward Eggleston proceeds in his investigations. His matter is fresh, and the engravings are of great interest, showing as they do that colonial life was not so barren of beauty and comfort as many have thought. The "Century" adds its mite to the flood of interest about Afghanistan, in a paper with an excellent map by W. L. Fawcett. A pathetic interest attaches to the sketch of Frank Hatton, a young naturalist who made valuable discoveries in North Borneo and died there. His father, Joseph Hatton, writes the sketch, and the illustrations have the interest of novelty. The military section is devoted to M'Clellan's change of base and the Seven Days' Fighting about Richmond. The writers are Generals D. H. Hill and James Longstreet, of the Confederate Army, and General Franklin, of the Union Army. The intense interest of the former papers is maintained, and the illustrations are marvels of good work. A superb portrait of Henry Clay is given with a "Few Words about Him," by George Bancroft.

There is a thoughtful "Open Letter" on the "Calling of the Ministry" that is well worth reading as an aid to the true conception of the work which is before the ministry of the future.

In the art of saying well things which need to be said for the pleasure of its readers, we have no magazine which surpasses the "Atlantic." Depending for its interest wholly on its articles, it is obliged to make up for the absence of engravings by the picturesqueness of its writings. Certainly in the numbers for May, June, and July it achieves a great success in the variety of its stories and in the charm of its literary matter. We have no magazine which gives so much space to important books, or which discusses literature with so much ability. Dr. Holmes's "New Portfolio" turns out to be a story full of interest. In the June number J. Laurence Laughlin, always a thoughtful writer, discusses our "American Delusion," namely, that a vote for a President does any thing beyond determining the policy of appointments to office. He wishes that the country could get up as much excitement about the elections to Congress as it does about the President, then something practical would be effected. If our Kansas friends will read the July number they will find something which will please them, for an eastern writer finds much in western Kansas to delight, and about most things writes as enthusiastically as the most intense could wish. Yet the writer has to admit that the weather is peculiar as to winds and drouth. Dr. Warren's "Paradise Found" is unfavorably but kindly reviewed in this number. While admitting the wide range of the doctor's information and the charm of his style, the writer finds the theory that paradise was at the north pole very slightly supported.

The English are rapidly adopting American methods in engraving, as can be easily seen in the "English Magazine." In the June number the illustrations of the New Forest betray the influence of our American engravers in a marked degree. There is more softness, more attention to texture, than is found in the older methods. "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London" is reflected in the artistic yet painful account of the "London Ragamuffin."

It seems that we must depend on England and France for our art magazines. We have no American periodical distinctly artistic which approaches the excellence of several English publications. Indeed, two have found it to their profit to publish American editions. Cassell's Magazine has an American department, which is eagerly read, and which is both intelligent and fair. The July number has a full-page portrait of Handel, after the Chandos portrait by Thornhill, which is a wonderful work in respect of the accuracy with which the spirit of the original is reproduced. This is a prelude to a paper on "Handel and his Portraits," which reproduces the best known likenesses of the great master. These must be correct, for there is a marked resemblance between them, and all have that satisfied expression which is characteristic of the *maestro*. Those who would see the charm of English Rivers will do well to examine with care the illustrations of the river Dart. We have nothing like the soft charm of the English landscape. We have rugged grandeur, but little of that rural and agricultural beauty which is manifest in this paper. The rural archi-

tecture of England fits its surroundings. Ours is transplanted and exotic. A clapboarded house is our one rural type. The stone farmsteadings of England, built from the nearest quarry, are part of the spot on which they stand. Each house has its individuality. The genius of Knaus as a painter of children is well exhibited in the selections from his work which follow the article on the Dart. If any one thinks that the modern style of dressing the hair is odd, let him study the illustrations in this number on mediæval female head-gear. Evidently the modern man will be content with modern bonnets and coiffures after he has studied this remarkable paper.

The July "Art Journal" has an etching of great merit, "Evening on the South Downs." It also engraves some beautiful photographs of English scenery, taken by the dry-plate process, and illustrating a valuable paper on Knapsack Photography. The invention of the dry-plate has revolutionized outdoor photography, and is sure to make a knowledge of this charming art a popular possession.

We call the attention of our readers to the merits of "Quiver" as a Sunday magazine of the highest type, and also to Cassell's "Family Magazine." We have no American publications which fill the place these have occupied in the estimation of those who know them. Costing the reader but $1 50 per annum, they give an amount of matter and illustration which is as surprising in quantity as it is excellent in quality.

"Christian Thought" for May–June opens with a paper by Dr. Jesse B. Thomas on "Genesis, Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural." It is a very able statement of the claims of the book on the respect and admiration of scholars. One thing is certain, we have outlived the day when Genesis is despised by scholars. Dr. Abraham Coles, in his "Half Hour with the Evolutionists," shows that he really knows what the evolutionists claim—a fact not always visible in those who write on this subject. There is much in the points he makes against Huxley concerning the relation of the orohippus to the modern horse. Not as much is made by Dr. Thwing of his subject, "The Involuntary Life," as it demands. There is a field largely unstudied for the coming theologian in the involuntary and unconscious life of man. Dr. Deems must, however, be congratulated in making so valuable a periodical from the results of his Summer School of Philosophy.

The "Homiletic Review" for June, among many noticeable papers has one by the Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens on "Methodist Preaching—Old and New." It is, as is always the case in Dr. Stevens's work, bright and thoughtful. He finds that there is a new style of preaching in Methodism, but holds that it is on the whole a wise adaptation to the times, and gives credit to our modern ministry for as much piety as the "fathers" had, though it has somewhat changed its type. Dr. Buttz contributes much wise matter to the Symposium on "Ministerial Education," and Dr. Funk has a most stirring paper on "Prohibition."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. FREDERIC SMITH. (Hibbert Lectures, 1885.) 8vo, pp. 238. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Hibbert Lectures, one series of which makes the volume whose title is above given, have already a history, though only of a few years, which probably is destined to increase; and perhaps the successive issues will render the foundation a rival to the older ones, of which the Bampton Lecture is the prototype. It was founded in 1849, on a bequest made by Mr. Robert Hibbert, who directed that the fund so created should be applied by the trustees as they, "in their uncontrolled discretion," should deem "most conducive to the spread of Christianity, in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgment in matters of religion." Because of the uncertainty that affects all general statements as to the intended meaning of the words used, especially in respect to theological opinions that vary from the generally accepted orthodoxy, and because we are uninformed in respect to the precise sense in which the founder of this Lecture used the word "Christianity" and the phrase "private judgment," we are unable to determine whether or not the trustees have been faithful to their trust.

At first, for several years, the fund was chiefly used by them for the higher culture of candidates for the Christian ministry; but afterward they determined to institute a series of Lectures on a plan somewhat like the Bampton Lectures, being moved to adopt that measure by a memorial letter signed by such men as James Martineau, Dean Stanley, Dr. William B. Carpenter, Professor Max Müller, John Tullock, John Caird, A. H. Sayce, James Drummond, and others, whose well-known views sufficiently indicate the intended drift of thought that would probably characterize the proposed Lectures should they be called for. This was also still more clearly indicated in the memorial sent to the trustees, which says: "From the fact that all the chief divinity schools of the country are still laid under traditional restraints, from which other branches of inquiry have long been emancipated, the discussion of theological questions is habitually affected by ecclesiastical interests and party predilections, and fail to receive the intellectual respect and confidence which are readily accorded to learning and research in any other field. There is no reason why competent knowledge and critical skill, if encouraged to exercise themselves in the disinterested pursuit of truth, should be less fruitful in religious than in social and physical ideas; nor can it be doubted that an audience is ready to welcome really capable and honest treatment of unsettled problems in theology. The time, we think, is come when a distinct provision for the free consideration of

such problems by scholars qualified to handle them may be expected to yield important results. Notwithstanding the traditional restraints which in England have interfered with an unprejudiced treatment of the theory and history of religion, a rich literature has poured in from the liberal schools of Germany and Holland, and has more or less trained and quickened the mind of the present generation, so that there cannot now be wanting qualified laborers in that reorganization of religious thought which is now taking place in our midst. Changes of sentiment and feeling cannot be simply imported from abroad. Till they pass through the minds of such men they have no local coloring and take no natural growth; and to modify English opinion and institutions there is need of *English* scholars. That need, we think, your encouragement can do something to supply. Such institutions as the 'Bampton Lectures' and others have done much to direct the public mind to certain well-defined views of Christianity. We believe that a similar institution might prove of high service in promoting independence of judgment combined with religious reverence, by exhibiting clearly from time to time some of the most important results of recent study in the great fields of philosophy, of biblical criticism, and comparative theology. We venture, therefore, to ask you to consider the expediency of establishing a 'Lecture' under the name of the 'Hibbert Lecture,' a course consisting of no fewer than six Lectures, delivered every two or three years. After delivery the course should be published under the direction of the managers of the Lecture, and thus by degrees the issues of unfettered inquiry would be placed in a compact form before the educated public."

This memorial embodies a scheme for the proposed Lecture Course, and clearly indicates its purposed intellectual and theological animus, with which it may be presumed the trustees also sympathized. The Lecture was accordingly determined on, and the results have answered to the promise of the undertaking.

The first course was delivered by Max Müller in 1878, on his favorite theme, "The Religions of India," as illustrating the origin and growth of religion, in which it is known that the comparison instituted was not especially favorable to Christianity. In 1879 P. le Page Renouf lectured in much the same spirit, and with like results, on the "Religion of Ancient Egypt." In 1880 Ernest Renan lectured on the "Influence of Ancient Rome on Early Christianity." The Lectures for 1881 were by Professor Davids, on Buddhism, as illustrating the origin and growth of religion; and those for 1882 were by the famous biblical critic, Kuenen, on "Natural and Universal Religions." In 1883 Charles Beard made the Reformation his theme, and pointed out, as he viewed the subject, its "relations to modern thought and knowledge." And last year Albert Réville discoursed on the "Native Religions of Mexico and Peru." Respecting the opinions expressed in these discussions it is enough to say of them that they are such as the memorial letter to the trustees seemed to call for, and also such as were assured by the previously known positions of the lecturers themselves. Most of them, it will be seen, are

Germans and Frenchmen, and generally persons notorious as among the more advanced class of rationalists of the Tübingen school. There is, too, in their lectures a manifest common purpose to show, from the history and character of the various ethnic religions brought into notice, that religious beliefs and observances, including by implication those of Christianity, are the results of natural causes, simply developments from man's natural mental activities, and subject to the universal law of evolution. Of course the Vedas and Eddas, the Bible and the Koran—the sacred books of different races—are all of the same general class; and Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Mohammed were, each among his own people, leaders, perhaps reformers, of their several ethnic religious systems. Sometimes there seems to be a kind of concession that by virtue of a specific religious tendency among the Semitic races the Hebrew Scriptures possess some peculiar excellences, but not without other counterbalancing characteristic defects. All religions are in some sense divine, because they have to do with divinities, real or imaginary; but revelation, in the proper Christian sense, must be wholly disallowed.

Professor Pfleiderer's production evinces a mind of real vigor and under good discipline, and also well informed in the literature of his subject. His utterances and allusions to Christ and his teachings are in their manner seldom offensive; indeed, they are not infrequently decidedly reverent in their tone. And since, on account of its importance and the position into which it is brought, the subject must be discussed, we welcome even such a production as this; yet while we would rejoice could it be undertaken by a competent hand, we are compelled to confess that the work as here done is very far from satisfactory. The lecturer evidently belongs to the extreme "Left" of German liberals, and though not wholly discarding all forms and facts of supernaturalism, he still does not hesitate to assume the presence of untruthfulness, prejudice, and questionable morality among the principal actors in the affairs that he has occasion to consider, not entirely excepting the Man of Nazareth from his censures.

In his first lecture its author endeavors to show that at first the Church at Jerusalem was designed to be only a reformed and spiritualized form of Judaism, and that it was thoroughly permeated and dominated by Jewish narrowness, of which Jesus himself was both a subject and a promoter; and that the episode of Grecian disturbance which resulted in the death of Stephen was entirely out of harmony with the doctrines and designs of the apostles. But the conversion of St. Paul, which was entirely aside from the Church at Jerusalem, started anew the partially suppressed irregularity. The doctrinal teaching of Paul, to which the second lecture is devoted, now the accepted doctrine of historical Christianity, it is assumed was not only original with himself, but it was entirely "another gospel" than the reformed Judaism of Jesus and his apostles. The third lecture sets forth the progress of the conflict between the Gentile and the Jewish forms of Christianity, with the relatively more rapid development of the former. The truce formed at Jerusalem, which concluded nothing; the contention between Paul and Peter at Antioch; the Judaists dogging

the course of Paul among the Gentiles; the violent polemics of Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians; his mitigated severity in the Epistles to the Corinthians, and the more didactic and irenical character of the Epistle to the Romans, in which writings Paul's gospel, as contradistinguished from that of the other apostles, is chiefly embodied,—are all considered in order. In stating these things the lecturer assumes the role of the judicial critic, with the presumption in advance that neither party had all the truth, and that either was capable of using questionable measures in order to compass its purposes. "The Reconciliation of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity" is the nominal subject of the fourth lecture, which rather goes to show how the conflict was continued and made perpetual by becoming embodied in the subsequently canonized books of the New Testament. The Epistle to the Philippians shows Paul's uncomfortable relations to his opponents at Rome while he was held a prisoner in that city. About that time the Book of Revelation was written, setting forth a "legal anti-Paulinism" and an "ideal Christology," and not the most friendly sentiments toward the heathen Christians. The Epistle of James was a trumpet-blast out of Zion against the Pauline heresy. Matthew's gospel was written with the same design, and the Sermon on the Mount is specifically and pointedly a polemic against Paul's antinomianism, while Mark is decidedly Paulinian and Luke equally so, but altogether conciliatory in tone. The fifth lecture is entitled "Paulinism and Gnosticism," and the attempt is made to detect decided traces of the Alexandrian *gnosis* in some of Paul's epistles, and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, which also appeared still more largely in the later productions of some of his school—especially Barnabas and Marcian—and also to show that an anti-Pauline *gnosis* cropped out in the pseudo-Clementine writings. In the sixth lecture we are taught how and by what influences Paulinism became at length the accepted Catholic orthodoxy, under the favoring hands of Clement and Ignatius, and was at length firmly intrenched by the overpowering will and intellect of Augustine. A thousand years later Huss and Wiclif gave an anti-Catholic application to Paulinism, in which they were followed by Luther, who through its spirit organized the forces that resulted in the Reformation.

In his discussions the lecturer incidentally introduces some strange, not to say novel, notions. In respect to Christ, while at one point he speaks of him as a Jew, with all the narrow one-sidedness of his people, he is elsewhere referred to as a real incarnation of the pre-existing celestial man after whose image Adam was created. Paul's conversion was simply psychological, and his opposition to Jewish exclusiveness was the outcome of the non-recognition of his apostleship by the Church at Jerusalem. His doctrine is treated as logically antinomianism, though he himself did not follow it to its practical results, and the opposition that he encountered was quite as largely ethical as dogmatical.

We lay down the volume with a deep sense of disappointment. Its title awakened the hope that at length a competent investigation had been made of a most important but rather inadequately discussed subject con-

nected with the early development of Christian doctrine and the planting and training of the Church by the apostles. But, instead of this, we are treated to fanciful notions and bold but baseless assumptions of facts and purposes, and to conceptions of Christianity which are simply travesties and caricatures. And this we are to receive as the precious result of the removal of "traditional restraints" from the discussion of theology and Church history. We plead for free thought and free speech with the most "liberal," but if what are here given are the best results that can be obtained, it may seem doubtful whether such freedom is indeed a boon. Nor can we believe that English-speaking Christendom will be ready to accept and follow this new evangel, which tells us chiefly of the folly and falsehood of the venerated names of the past, and gives no assurance for the future. The Anglo-Saxon mind and heart will not be deluded by such Teutonic and Gallic vagaries.

The Abiding Sabbath. An Argument for the Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day. (The Fletcher Prize Essay for 1884.) By Rev. GEORGE ELLIOTT. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: American Tract Society.

The Fletcher Prize Fund was constituted a few years ago by a gentleman of Boston, and its administration committed to the trustees of Dartmouth College. Its design, as set forth by its founder, is to resist "the powerful influences constantly active in drawing professed Christians into fatal conformity with the world," and its method is to procure and publish, once in two years, a prize essay, "setting forth truth and reasoning calculated to counteract such worldly influences." The book above named is the essay for 1884, selected by a competent committee as the best of a considerable number offered, all on the same subject.

The writer's plan seems to be, in Part I, to set forth the nature of *Sabbath*—not of any specially recognized institution, but of a season of religious rest. Part II treats of the Sabbath of the Israelites, and Part III of the "Sabbath of Redemption." The statement of the case in the first part is a judicious setting forth of the inestimable social and religious value of *a* Sabbath; the second discusses the Sabbath of the Old Testament in its specially Jewish, and also in its universal and perpetual, characteristics and relations. The third part attempts to develop the true theory of the Christian Sabbath as a necessity and a fact—the first very readily demonstrated, but as to the second, wanting in the explicitness of statement that could be wished for. The argument of the book is forcible but calm, and distinctively persuasive rather than convincing; its spirit and its style are excellent. Its extensive use could not fail of the best results.

A Companion to the Revised Old Testament. By TALBOT W. CHAMBERS. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The advent of the Revised Old Testament is, very naturally, the signal for the appearance of a multitude of collateral and subsidiary books, historical, illustrative, and explanatory, soon to be followed by discussions of the work done and criticisms of the changes made. This work has a

kind of official character, as Dr. Chambers was one of the Revisers, and what is here written is from knowledge acquired by his relations to that work. It treats of the need of a revision, the methods adopted and pursued in the work, the Old Testament text, changes in the several divisions of books. One of its chapters is headed "The American Appendix," and covers nearly fifty pages, made up of matters especially favored by the American Revisers, some of which prevailed, and some were defeated. As with the like cases in the New Testament, in many, perhaps most, of these we find no cause to be ashamed of either the scholarship or the good common sense of our countrymen. This "companion" volume cannot fail to be acceptable to those who shall desire to thoroughly understand the circumstances and conditions among which the Old Testament revision was made. It is well and ably done.

A Catechism of Christian Perfection. By Rev. E. T. CURNICK, A. M. 18mo, pp. 203.

Christian Perfection as Taught by John Wesley. Compiled by Rev. J. A. WOOD. With an Introduction by Bishop W. F. MALLALIEU. 12mo, pp. 288. Boston: M'Donald & Gill.

Our brethren who are making the advanced Christian life a specialty seem to be "spread into bands," and several of these have set up publishing houses, and they are producing some really valuable books, as well as some not so good. The Boston house named above seems just now to be especially productive, and the two books here named are among its latest and best. The "Catechism" is a comprehensive exposition of its subject, in plain and straightforward statements, and as nearly conformed to the best Methodist authorities as any work that we have seen. While not quite prepared to indorse all that it contains, we can nevertheless commend both its spirit and its general scriptural orthodoxy.

Mr. Wood, in the second of the above named works, undertakes the difficult task of restating Mr. Wesley's views of "Christian perfection;" but not a few readers and admirers of that great light of the Church have seemed to find in his writings a variety of statements, not all in perfect accord; and his "Treatise" on the subject was largely changed in its substance by annotations in the successive editions. Had he lived longer he would probably have further modified his statements. But Mr. Wood gives us a good book.

The Minor Prophets. With a Commentary Explanatory and Practical, and Introductions to the Several Books. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor, etc. Vol. II. Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. 8vo, pp. 504. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers.

The same characteristics that were noticed and commended in our notice of the former volume of this Commentary apply with equal fitness to the present one. The introductions affixed to each prophetic book are models of conciseness and comprehensiveness united, and they are at once learned and yet easily understood. Though the writer is among the most scholarly, there is no other display of learning in his annotations than is given in the wonderfully lucid exposition and illustrations of the text.

Dr. Pusey was so exact in his devotion to the canon that no difficulties in that department are allowed to come in to vex his readers. All that we before said in favor of the ability and critical learning, and especially the conservative orthodoxy, of the first half of the work, may be applied without diminution to this.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This book is without date, either at the imprint or the end of the preface; but on the back of the leaf that bears the title is the designation of the copyright with the date, 1851. It was from that early edition that we learned the character of the book, and in that we see an ample justification of this new edition, which properly appears soon after the decease of its venerable author. Dr. Williams was no ordinary man—distinguished equally for the qualities of mind and heart, all of which are manifested advantageously in these lectures.

The Doctrine of Entire Sanctification Scripturally and Psychologically Examined. By Rev. W. JONES, M.D., St. Louis Conference. 12mo, pp. 255. Philadelphia: National Publishing House for the Promotion of Holiness.

This work is a fairly well-prepared restatement of the subject indicated by its title, with the usual excellences and the nearly as frequently occurring misconceptions. It is didactic and moderately hortatory, and somewhat philosophical, which may be a fault or an excellence. It may be read and pondered with profit.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State. A Story of Work and Exploration. By HENRY M. STANLEY. With over one hundred full-page and smaller Illustrations, two large Maps, and several smaller ones. Two vols., 8vo. Vol. i, pp. xxvii, 528; vol. ii, pp. vii, 483. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1885.

The latest and greatest of all the numerous family of books of travels and explorations in Africa are beyond question the two magnificent volumes recently issued by Harper & Brothers, detailing the marvelous story of the doings of Mr. Henry M. Stanley in Central Africa. In them the great explorer continues to be, as heretofore, his own chronicler, and accordingly we have such a record of these transactions as could have been made by no other. This work has some properties in common with Cæsar's "Commentaries" on his wars in Gaul and Britain, but it is altogether superior to these in nearly all of its chief features. Its style is the perfection of plainness, presenting its simpler facts without coloring or distortion, which is itself high praise, since on account of the intrinsic interest of its facts any attempt at merely literary embellishment would be a manifest impertinence. The writer has something to relate, and he proceeds to do it, trusting to the value of what he has to say for the acceptance of his narrative, which confidence is abundantly justified by the result. The work will, no doubt, constitute the principal literary event of the season, not

only in this country and Great Britain, but also in all Europe, into whose principal languages it has been translated, so as to be issued simultaneously in eight different versions.

From the necessities of the case, the writer, as he was the chief actor in the transactions that he records, is kept in the foreground; but there is throughout a remarkable absence of every thing like self-glorification, or the appearance of self-consciousness; he seems to have thought only of his work, and accordingly he compels his reader also to think only of that. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the business in hand is seen to be pursued readily passes over to the reader, who is unconsciously drawn into a lively sympathy with the subject, and so becomes oblivious to its accessories. The difficulties among which the work was prosecuted were of the most formidable character, arising partly from natural obstructions, but much more from the lack of appreciation, the stupidity, and the perverseness of those upon whose co-operation the chief actor was more or less dependent. The story of the opening of the road from Vivi to Stanley Pool has but few parallels in history or romance, as a display of patience and perseverance among discouragements, of fertility of mental resources, and of unconquerable pluck and will power. Compared with it, such achievements as Cortez's campaign in Mexico or Hannibal's passage of the Alps appear commonplace, since these were provided in advance with the requisite appliances, and the assured help of disciplined armies, while of all these Stanley had only the scantiest provision.

The appreciation of the work grows upon the reader as he proceeds with the narrative, in view of the purposes to be achieved by the enterprise, till at length it possesses his imagination and awakens his sympathy with it and with its chief agent. The geographical extent of the country to be occupied and redeemed—the great Congo Basin—presents an area of a million and a half of square miles, equal to twenty-five times that of New York or Pennsylvania; fertile, well-watered, elevated, and salubrious, with a sturdy population of forty millions, and capabilities for indefinite increase. These things may be expressed in words and figures, but the mind fails to grasp their greatness. The ultimate purposes sought to be reached are alike unusual and morally sublime. War and spoliation and political aggrandizement are purposely excluded, and the attempt is to be made to deal with a barbarous race on principles of justice and humanity; and surely an end so admirable is worthy of any cost that the experiment may require. The undertaking contemplates the introduction of a Christian civilization into the "Dark Continent," not, however, as a religious crusade, nor specifically as a missionary enterprise. And yet Mr. Stanley has, by personal observation, become so well convinced of the vast capabilities of Christian missions, as a civilizing agency, that he invites their co-operation as independent auxiliaries.

As a virgin soil for the planting of Christian missions, Congo possesses wonderful capabilities, and is remarkably inviting. Here there is offered to the godly enterprise of the Churches a somewhat homogeneous population, only less numerous than two others of the world's races—the

Chinese and Hindus—to whom the Gospel has never been preached; and all these, as was never before the case in such large proportions, are literally waiting for the Gospel. The freedom decreed for the great State of Congo applies especially to all matters of religion; and everywhere in all that land, and among its teeming millions, the missionary has the right of way secured by its organic law. Here, too, is a climate exceptionally salubrious, offering the most favorable conditions for vigorous activity and labor, and for long life. No doubt here, as everywhere, heathenism presents a rank growth of ungodliness and spiritual corruption; and here, as elsewhere also, the power of the Gospel is equal to any demands that may be made upon it. Here, too, no doubt, it will be possible to establish Christian churches and social communities that shall themselves become centers and sources of Christian life and influence, adequate at once for their own maintenance, or for the extension of the Gospel to the regions beyond; for in Africa, as elsewhere, missions to be healthy and fruitful must be chiefly self-supporting.

Great praise is due to the publishers for the style in which they have brought out these noble volumes. The material used is substantial and sufficiently firm; the print is large and clear, making the reading a luxury, and generally the book-maker's work is all that could be desired. Each volume has a portrait—frontispiece: the first, a steel engraving of King Leopold of Belgium; and the second, an excellent wood-cut of the author. Each volume has also a large pocket-map, and throughout the work are smaller maps and views of places and objects that greatly facilitate the understanding of the letter-press descriptions.

The Life of Rev. John S. Inskip, President of the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness. By WM. M'DONALD and J. E. SEARLES. 12mo, pp. 374. Boston: Published by M'Donald & Gill, Office of the Christian Witness.

It is well that the character and career of J. S. Inskip should be duly delineated for the comfort of his surviving fellow-workers, and for the edification of all Christians; and the authors and editors of this volume merit the thanks of all these because of the book here given to us. It may be that the views of the writers, as they have here embodied them, are somewhat one-sided, lacking the rounded fullness of the mind and heart of their subject; and certainly it is a very inadequate expression of the character of the man to describe him as simply the first officer of a body of Christian workers. In a former issue of the Review we have attempted to indicate somewhat of our estimate of his character and religious experience, and his relations to the religious life of his times. The writers speak modestly of their performance, but the many friends of their remarkable subject will thank them for their work.

Life of Edward Thomson, D.D., LL.D., late a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By his Son, Rev. EDWARD THOMSON, M.A. Pp. 336. New York; Phillips & Hunt.

The name and fame of Bishop Thomson is the property of his Church, and it is the right thing that they should be duly conserved. It was

also among his special providential favors that he should have a son to bear his name, to become his successor in the ministry, and to prepare his biography. The book, for some time promised, is at length in hand, and all interested in the matter are to be congratulated that the work is done, and so well done. It was a difficult and delicate duty self-imposed upon the son, who has wisely allowed his subject to largely speak for himself, of himself, through his letters and other written memorials, selections from which are given, chosen with good taste and discreetly. The whole composition brings its admirable and unique subject very fully into view—an image that none can contemplate without becoming nobler and better. The book is a valuable contribution to our denominational biography.

EDUCATIONAL.

The After-School Series: College Latin Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Chautauqua Press.

No class of readers will more highly value such a book as this than the Collegian a few years after graduation, when his re-readings will be like a visit to old familiar haunts without the toil and vexation with which they were first traversed. To the Chautauqua Graduate, who, it seems to be tacitly assumed, never read the original, such an Anglicized selection of Latin Readings is perhaps the best substitute, and it is well, therefore, that selections like this and its kindred volumes should be made. We said a good word for the "Greek Course," by the same author, when it first appeared, but we think he improves by practice. It is really a well-ordered digest of some of the best specimens of Classical Latin.

The Student's Ecclesiastical History, Part II. The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages: with a Summary of the Reformation. Centuries XI to XVI. By PHILIP SMITH, B.A., Author of the "Student's Old Testament History" and the "Student's New Testament History." With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 699. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Harper & Brothers' "Student Series" of histories, now extending to fourteen or fifteen volumes, constitute an extensive and somewhat comprehensive historical library. They are eminently compact books, in respect to their literary composition and their material make-up, for each volume of about seven hundred closely printed pages is equal to two of the ordinary large octavos, and by the most thorough condensation, not really abridgment, the matter itself is brought within one half its original space, or else, as with the Scripture and ecclesiastical histories, it is written out anew. The volume before us is a complement to one issued in 1879, entitled "The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries, from its Foundation to the Full Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal Power." It begins where Part I closed, with the deaths of the Emperor Otho III. and Pope Sylvester II. (A. D. 1002–3), and extends to the coronation of Charles V. and the Diet and Confession of

Augsburg (in 1530), and of the death of Pope Clement VII. and of the severance of the English Church from Rome (in 1534). It then exhibits in successive books the constitution, worship, and doctrines of the Mediæval Church, the monastic and mendicant orders, the learning, universities, and scholasticism of the period, with the sects and heresies that arose, thus coming to the Reformation, of which only a brief summary could be given.

For the general reader, and, indeed, for all who have not access to the larger Church histories, this volume is excellently adapted. It is admirably written, and with a view to meet the want frequently felt of something to supply what works of civil history leave in obscurity.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Errors of Evolution: An Examination of the Nebular Theory, Geological Evolution, the Origin of Life, and Darwinism. By ROBERT PATTERSON, Author of "The Fable of Infidelity." Edited, with an Introduction, by H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." 12mo, pp. 271. Boston: H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill.

The fallacies of the evolution theory, *hypothesis* rather, as presented by its special advocates, are sufficiently obvious; and scarcely less so, those of a numerous class of their antagonists. Nevertheless, there is a form of evolution in nature that is not all fallacy.

From the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn. A Narrative of Travel and Adventure: By HENRY FREDERIC REDDALL. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A decidedly readable and instructive book, clearly conveying valuable information in a pleasant manner. The eye and ear are kept attent to all the sights and sounds recorded, and the reader's interest is secured from first to last. We trust ere long to accompany the author on another jaunt. The execution is worthy of the matter; the pictures and the framing are alike good.

The Morals of Christ. A Comparison with Contemporaneous Systems. By AUSTIN BIERBOWER, Author of "Principles of a System of Philosophy," etc. Paper covers. 12mo, pp. 200. Chicago, Ill.: Colegrove Book Co.

Divinity of Our Lord in Relation to His Work of Atonement. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, Author of "The Tongue of Fire," etc. (Present Day Tracts, No. 35.) 16mo, pp. 64. London: 56 Paternoster Row.

Peter: Not an Apostle, but a Chattel, with a Strange History. By Rev. R. ABBEY. Paper covers. 16mo, pp. 59. Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House. Printed for the Author.

Standard League Document, No. 1. Non-Partisanship in Temperance Effort Defined, Advocated, and Vindicated. By Rev. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 62. Boston: National Temperance League.

Bible Promises. Sermons to Children. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D. 18mo, pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Christian Evolution; or, The Divine Process in Human Redemption. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 75.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES (light reading), issued weekly, duodecimos, in paper covers, are well printed on good paper, from 200 to 300 pages. The titles of the several volumes, to date, are: 1. That Terrible Man; 2. Society in London; 3. Mignon, or Boodle's Baby; 4 and 5. Louisa; 6. Home Letters (Beaconsfield); 7. How to Play Whist; 8. Mr. Butler's Ward; 9. John Needham's Double; 10. The Mahdi; 11. Life in London; 12. Waters of Hercules; 13. She's All the World to Me; 14. A Hard Knot.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—*Lester's Secret.* A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY.—*The Shadow of a Crime.* A Novel. By HALL CAINE.—*A Week of Passion.* A Novel. By EDWARD JENKINS.—*Lazarus in London.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*The Russians at the Gates of Herat.* By CHARLES MARVIN. With Maps and Illustrations.—*On the Fo'k'sle Head.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. — *Captain Brand, of the "Centipede."* By H. A. WISE, U. S. N. Illustrated.—*Russia Under the Tzars.* By STEPNIAK. With Portrait.—*Ishmael.* A Novel. By M. E. BRADDON.—*Diana of the Crossways.* By GEORGE MEREDITH. *Betwixt My Love and Me.* A Novel.—*Victor Hugo and his Time.* By ALFRED BARBOU. With over 120 Illustrations.—*The Professor.* A Novel. By CHARLOTTE BRONTE. Illustrated.—*The Revised Version of the Old Testament.* In Four Parts.—*Heart's Delight.* A Novel. By CHARLES GIBBON.—*Adrian Vidal.* By W. E. NORRIS. Illustrated.—*Sylvan Holt's Daughter.* By HOLME LEE.

A Hand-Book of the United Brethren in Christ. A Brief Compendium of the History, Doctrine, Government, and General Sunday-school, Missionary, Publishing, and Educational Work of the United Brethren Church; with Historical Tables of General Church Officers and Educational Institutions. Prepared by E. L. SHUEY, A.M., of Otterbein University. 18mo, pp. 50. Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, W. J. SHUEY, Agent.

A brief, but convenient, sketch of a Christian body that deserves to be better known.

Self-Sacrifice Victorious. Rays of Divine Light on the Future of Mankind. By the Rev. JOHN COOPER. 12mo, pp. 59. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace.

Ingenious, speculative—not always reliable.

Valeria, the Martyr of the Catacombs. A Tale of Early Christian Life in Rome. By W. H. WITHROW, D.D., Author of "The Catacombs of Rome," etc. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

There is a vast deal of romance in the early Christian history, as disclosed in the monuments of the Catacombs, of which Dr. Withrow is the recognized interpreter; and much of this is here wrought into a story—in form a fiction—but truthful and life-like in its details.

Among the Stars; or, Wonderful Things in the Sky. By AGNES GIBERNE, Author of "Sun, Moon, and Stars." 12mo, pp. 311. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A fairly successful attempt to adapt the rather difficult subject of astronomy to the minds of children.

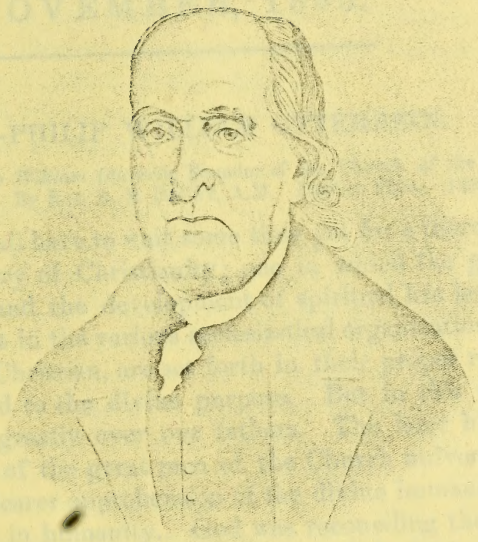
Information and Illustration. Helps Gathered from Facts, Figures, Anecdotes, Books, etc., for Sermons, Lectures, and Addresses. By Rev. S. G. BOWES, B.A. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers

Themes arranged alphabetically.

Great-Heart; or, Sermons to Children. By WM. WILBERFORCE NEWTON. 18mo. pp. 342. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Chapters on Plant Life. By SOPHIE BLEDSOE HERRICK. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 206. New York: Harper & Brothers.

First lessons in Botany, given in an attractive form.



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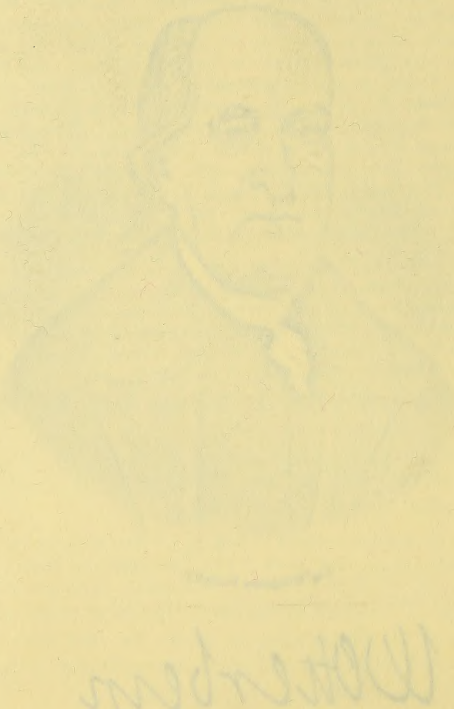

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

ART. I.—PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, Founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. By Rev. A. B. DRURY, A.M. Dayton, Ohio. 1884.

PROBABLY we shall have to wait some time yet for a thoroughly satisfactory history of Christianity; one in which the growth of the Church, and the development of spiritual life begotten of faith in Christ in the various ecclesiastical organizations calling themselves Christian, are set forth in their proper relation to each other and to the divine purpose. But in this respect we are gaining greatly over our fathers. The later histories and biographies of the great men of the Church universal are written with a clearer apprehension of the divine immanence in the Church and in humanity. God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ; who, having accomplished his earthly mission, committed the reclamation of the world from Satan to the Holy Spirit operating through human instrumentality. Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, said the ascending Lord. And so it was. The Christian Church as an institution among men, calling them to a life of holiness and service of Christ, began with the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. It has had no other source of spiritual life. The outward form of the visible Church has been subject to human and worldly influences, which have at times dominated and greatly depressed its spiritual life. For God is in the Church by the Holy Spirit, not as a power placed under the control and administration of ecclesiastical authority, but seeking a place in human hearts; willingly taking up his abode

with those who receive him gladly and submit to his quickening and sanctifying power. The presence and influence of the Holy Spirit we may confidently affirm has been continuous in the Church, although we may not be able to trace his course with exactness nor measure the force of his operations. Nor shall we find it profitable to attempt a description of his manifestations, so various are his methods and instruments. But his presence has been always and every-where a call to holy living and a protest against the formalism and worldliness into which the Church may have fallen. He seeks and prepares his instruments by the simplest means, and generally without a hint of what may be expected of their labors.

The revival of spiritual religion in the eighteenth century, of which organic Methodism was the chief product, was not the invention of those who became its leaders. It was neither a new search after doctrine nor an awakening interest in ecclesiastical questions, although these afterward came up for consideration. Their single aim was to love God with an undivided heart, and to render him the most faithful service by calling men to repentance and faith in Christ. It was a wonderful manifestation and development of a spiritual awakening, or revival of religion, which may be quite clearly traced into and beyond the previous century. The Holy Spirit was making himself felt with increasing power, and in places widely apart, as professing Christians submitted their hearts to his teachings, and suffered themselves to be guided into all righteousness by a more thorough study of the Holy Scriptures. The period was one of those transforming ones in the history of Christianity which do not fall in with the conjectures of human wisdom, when here and there the spiritual atmosphere becomes charged with a fuller sense of God's personality, and the need of holiness preparatory to a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The Wesleys, and their coadjutors and helpers, were chosen for this glorious work as ready and tractable instruments, and their work became the central and principal stream of spiritual influence that has made the nineteenth century memorable in the history of the Christian Church. The beginnings, which were in weakness, despised and ridiculed by those who counted themselves successors of the apostles, grew into a spiritual awakening that has produced the most wonderful restoration

of the spirit and practice of the apostolic times since the Church began to fall away from the purity and fervor of her first love.

Methodism found in the American colonies a more inviting field than elsewhere. For the doctrines of the Methodist preachers, to a greater extent than they perceived at first, were entirely in harmony with the feeling of independence and sense of individuality that was making itself felt in every part of the land. The new conditions, following upon the organization of a new civil society of like spirit and aims, allowed Methodism to put forth its full energy, and gave free play to the itinerant system. There were at the time of its entrance into this country not a few spiritually-minded preachers. Although Whitefield's preaching had made a considerable impression in some parts, its influence had largely died out. The people, however, were eager to hear evangelical preaching, and it produced in every part of the country the same effects that had been observed in England. And in the central and southern portions of the extended field which it began to occupy it came in contact with a few ministers and churches, especially in the German settlements, animated by a spirit and purpose so like its own that a strong and lasting bond of sympathy was established between them and the Methodist preachers. We refer particularly to the revival of religion that had slowly made its way against many obstacles in a few congregations of the German Reformed and Mennonite Churches, in several localities in Pennsylvania and Maryland. This revival is not to be traced to Methodism, but to independent operations of the Holy Spirit then active in both hemispheres. That the contact and example of Methodism and the personal relations of Asbury with Otterbein and Boehm, the leading spirits of this revival among the Germans, greatly influenced its development, will hardly be doubted.

The life of Otterbein and the history of the religious organization which grew out of this revival, furnish a striking illustration of God's method of carrying forward his work of saving the world. It has so many characteristics which remind one of the Wesleyan revival that it might be described as a lesser Methodism: the same in spirit, but not so far-reaching in thought or purposes. The publication, therefore, of a new

and more clear-sighted life of Otterbein, the founder of the "Church of the United Brethren in Christ," in the centennial year of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adds interest to our studies of the period.

From the beginning of their acquaintance, not only were Otterbein and Asbury friends delighting in each other's company, but a remarkable confidence grew up between them. It was grounded in marked similarity of religious experience, a general agreement on theological questions, and reliance on nearly the same methods of evangelization and spiritual culture. Otterbein was older in years, but he had been slower in attaining spiritual insight, and perhaps never reached the confidence and vivid experiences of Asbury. He was wanting also in those executive qualities and the faculty of leadership which made Asbury the chief figure for so many years in American Methodism and impressed it with his characteristics. Their fields of labor were in the same region, separated by the barrier of diversity of language; but their aims and the results of their labors were so nearly alike, and wrought out in such harmony, that had the spirit of denominationalism been as fully developed in their day as it was fifty years after, the two friends might have joined hands and produced German Methodism in the closing years of the last century. But there was probably no serious thought of such an arrangement. Even Asbury, in whom the faculty of organization was so largely developed, was more concerned about saving souls than building a great ecclesiastical establishment. Otterbein was thoroughly content in a restricted sphere, moving forward almost reluctantly, at the suggestion of his associates rather than of his own impulse. He does not seem even to have been touched by human ambition. The volume before us, from which for the most part we obtain the facts of the life of this religious leader, does justice to his elevated Christian character, and places him in right relations to the Church of which he was the founder. It was his receptivity of the operations of the Holy Spirit, not ecclesiastical descent, that made him what he was. There are gaps in the record that we would gladly have filled, but sufficient remains to give a clearly defined figure of one chosen of God for labor and honor.

Philip William Otterbein was born in Dillenberg, a small

town in the Duchy of Nassau, Germany, on June 3, 1726. He came of a family of ministers of the Reformed Church, his father and others of the family having acquired an enviable reputation for scholarship and piety. His home was one in which simple, genuine piety prevailed; and there is reason to believe that something of the warmth and glow of the "pietism" of Spener and his followers had found access into the household. The father, happy in an honored and useful ministry, died when Philip was only sixteen years old. The mother moved to Herborn, a few miles away, the seat of a noted Reformed school, that she might carry out the design of preparing all her sons for the ministry, the oldest having already nearly completed his studies. Five brothers, besides the subject of this sketch, became pastors. There was nothing remarkable in the early history of this member of the family. Having passed through the usual classical and theological training with approbation, and devoted some time to teaching, he was ordained to the ministry on June 13, 1749, and entered at once on the duties of the pastorate, serving two villages in the vicinity of his native town. He appears to have been impressed at school by the teaching of the more spiritual and earnest professors, as was manifest in his preaching. The evangelical quality of his sermons soon began to gain attention, and in proportion as he won the favor of the more pious he lost in the estimation of the ecclesiastical authorities, who feared irregularities. His mother's true heart suggested his fitness for the mission field, for which there was some demand in the New World, whither Germans were emigrating in considerable numbers. And so, before three years had passed after his ordination, he, with five young ministers of the Reformed Church, sailed from the Hague for America. They reached New York on July 27, 1752, after a voyage of nearly four months.

Mr. Otterbein's ministry in this country began at Lancaster, Pa., one of several centers of the German population, the congregation of the Reformed Church there being second to Philadelphia only. This appointment shows his standing among his brethren to have been of the best. The church had been irregularly served, and some of the pastors had been unfit for the office, and the membership had become sadly lacking in spirituality. He entered, however, upon the work with zeal,

and the little log church was soon replaced by an imposing stone edifice. His efforts to introduce Church order and discipline did not meet with hearty support. But the difficulties of his situation and the general lack of sympathy in his efforts to lead the people into a genuine religious life only increased his determination to be faithful. He had some sense, no doubt, of the divine favor, and was seeking to know Christ more fully. His preaching produced conviction of sin, and the need of ministering to the awakened soul revealed his narrowness of spiritual knowledge and the feebleness of his faith. Like an honest soul not unconscious of the source of spiritual life, he sought light of God in secret, and came from his closet testifying of the grace of God, and with the assuring witness of the Spirit. From this time on it is plain to see that a new element had entered into the life of the pastor. It is known by the quality of his preaching, the faithfulness of his pastoral work, and his determination to establish a proper Church discipline. The doctrines of a change of heart, and the profession of constant communion with God, and the assurance of faith, were looked upon by the greater number of his hearers as a species of fanaticism or pietism hardly endurable even in a minister. We recognize in this spiritual change, that made a new man of Mr. Otterbein, the same general outlines of spiritual development that occurred in Mr. Wesley's religious life. The experience has been often repeated under like circumstances. And the spiritual life begotten of this guidance of the Holy Spirit into a clear apprehension of divine truth, and the attending quickening and increase of faith, constitute the best and only sufficient equipment for ministerial service. From the period of this larger experience, Mr. Otterbein preached with greater freedom, casting aside the expedient of a written sermon in the pulpit, and seems to have made a steady advancement along the lines of Arminian theology.

Mr. Otterbein failed of the success that he desired at Lancaster, and after eight years' service he resigned. He was induced to take charge of a church at Tulpehocken, a place of some note in those days among the Germans, but with more of the aspects of border life than he had yet seen. This field was hardly as inviting as that he had left, and he found the people set against innovations, as his prayer and other meetings were

called. Here he spent two years and was highly esteemed, for he was faithful beyond measure, preaching often, introducing prayer and a kind of class-meetings that were spiritually profitable. But the church authorities were openly and persistently in opposition. In his next pastorate, (Frederick, Md.,) his soul found greater freedom, and his work as a preacher and pastor was more fully appreciated. His influence was felt throughout the society and the town. The old unregenerate element in the church gave him some trouble, but he was growing in favor. He became more abundant in labors, preaching in every direction, extending his visits into Virginia, and creating an unusual interest wherever he went. He had invitations from places of importance, including Philadelphia. During his pastorate here he married an estimable lady, Miss Susan Le Roy, whose acquaintance he had made at Lancaster. Six years of happy married life followed, when the bond was broken by death, and he cherished the memory of his lost companion with touching tenderness to his last days. A ministry at York, Pa., began in 1765, and continued till he made a visit to Germany in 1770. The spiritual influences which had touched and were molding Otterbein were operating in other places with like effects. Methodism had been introduced, and doctrines which had been announced heretofore with diffidence were proclaimed with entire confidence, and found constant verification among the people. The work of the Holy Spirit in the awakening, conversion, and sanctification of believers was better understood and heartily preached. The preaching of Boehm among the Mennonites and the labors of other evangelists of like spirit were producing marked results. Otterbein was unusually active, preaching extensively in the adjoining States. He was brought into personal acquaintance with some who afterward became his fellow-laborers in the Gospel, and found himself in harmony with them, and his spiritual life quickened by the association.

Mr. Otterbein returned from Germany in the summer of 1771 and resumed his pastorate at York, and continued there nearly three years. There is nothing to indicate that the visit to his early home had any appreciable effect on his religious experience or the career to which God was calling him. But the last three years at York were eventful. The leaven of spirituality

was steadily gaining force and producing the usual effects in many places, and the ministers and people sympathizing with Mr. Otterbein's view were increasing. Their ecclesiastical relations became burdensome, for their motives no less than their piety and wisdom were called in question. Those who sympathized in the revival movement came together for counsel; unintentionally, perhaps unconsciously, the ties of their old ecclesiastical relationship had grown feeble, since they had no fellowship of heart and life. There were not, however, any indications of insubordination; rather the disposition was to continue faithful to their convictions and wait the developments of Providence. If there was any ambition of leadership and the formation of a new Church organization, it was carefully hidden from public view. But there was nothing of the kind. The next step was a plain one. A Reformed society in Baltimore had gathered into its folds quite a number of members who had been converted under the preaching of Mr. Otterbein. They were mostly young persons of an enterprising spirit, and they joined the evangelical party which was already forming in the Church. In the end, for it is not necessary to pursue the history in detail, a new society was organized and Mr. Otterbein accepted a call to the pastorate. Mr. Asbury's hand appears in this important event. He had arrived in this country a few months after Mr. Otterbein's return from Germany, and his preaching and zeal were having already their effect on the Methodist societies. Although these yet undiscovered leaders do not appear to have met in person, so at least it is thought, they knew and had confidence in each other. Mr. Asbury was on quite intimate terms with the evangelical pastor who preceded Otterbein at Baltimore, and fully understood the condition of the society. The Reformed *coetus* had in a manner declared against Mr. Otterbein accepting the invitation to become their pastor; but Mr. Asbury joined in urging him to accept, which he did, and came to Baltimore in May, 1774. Otterbein entered upon his work at once, and his spirit and energy produced a new order of things. He consulted with Mr. Asbury in the organization of the society, who advised a general conformity to Methodist methods; there was no effort to lead them into the Methodist societies. The constitution and rules which Mr. Otterbein drew up in consultation and with the advice of

his chief members show how thoroughly his views had been accepted by the society. The polity was Presbyterian, the theology tended toward Arminianism, and the Church discipline was far in advance of the Reformed Churches.

At an annual meeting of the pastors who co-operated in the revival movement, it was agreed to hold a "conference" in Baltimore in 1789 to consider more fully the interests of the growing congregations that looked to them for spiritual guidance. This may properly be considered the first definite step of the new organization. Of the fourteen preachers who were committed to the movement, seven were present. They were a company of ministers that would have done honor to any Church; and on account of their talents, piety, and devotion to the work of the ministry, were well qualified for the duties of the hour. The names of Otterbein, Martin Boehm, and Christian Newcomer will always be held in honor by the Christian Church. The members of the conference arrived at a satisfactory understanding, and adopted a confession of faith largely drawn from the Apostles' Creed. This was not a hasty or ill-advised proceeding. Mr. Asbury says in his Journal, under date of June 5, 1786: "I called on Mr. Otterbein; we had some free conversation on the necessity of forming a Church among the Dutch, holding conferences, the order of its government, etc." Mr. Otterbein no doubt saw quite plainly in what direction the work of the revivalists was tending, and was in thought preparing for the future. He was not of an adventurous spirit, even when most impressed with the conviction of duty. From the first the Methodists had been closely observed by Mr. Otterbein and his associates; they could not be insensible to the merits of the system which was being developed in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and especially its fitness for the work of evangelization which they were themselves pursuing, and the grand results of the itinerancy. And the organization which grew up under Mr. Otterbein and his coadjutors has more and more taken on the practical peculiarities of the Methodists; and, to its honor be it said, has perpetuated some of these which Methodists have allowed to fall into disuse. And its great gains may be already attributed to this flexible, simple system which seems fitted beyond any other for the saving of souls. It is not intended to assert that these minis-

ters were under any special obligations to Methodism, or dependent on it for their success, but that their common aims and singleness of purpose led them along nearly the same paths, profiting by each other's experience.

The new organization, which was for years after known as the United Brethren, began soon to vindicate the judgment of those who formed it. We cannot follow its history from year to year. Its growth was not rapid, partly, we are inclined to believe, because it did not assume a more independent position. Mr. Otterbein, like Mr. Wesley, seems to have retained great affection for the Church in which he was ordained to the ministry, and maintained for a long time a twofold ecclesiastical relation—some persons still affirming that he never separated from the Reformed Church. He met with the synod of that Church for the last time in 1800. During the next month the first regular Annual Conference of the United Brethren was held, and the organization took on more definite form. Mr. Otterbein and Martin Boehm were elected, or perhaps only recognized by general consent, as superintendents or bishops. A great revival was in progress among the Methodists, in which the United Brethren shared, and the greatest sympathy prevailed between the two bodies. They preached in each other's houses of worship, and were as one people in social worship and in the communion of the Lord's Supper. So long as Mr. Otterbein was able he preached far and near, and his influence was felt throughout the societies as the leading spirit in the movement. Boehm was as active, and hardly less popular among the people, but Otterbein was the acknowledged head, and thought of as the founder of the Church. He had the characteristics that are sought after for one in such a position.

The last Conference that he attended was in 1805, after which his age and increasing infirmities compelled him to abide in Baltimore. But he was not forgotten, nor did he lose his influence in the Church. The chief ministers came to see him in the quiet of his ministerial home, sought his advice in all important matters, and enjoyed the presence of the patriarch. A serious sickness toward the close of the year named induced him to make his will. He did not preach as often as he had, but his sermons are yet described as powerful and with the "unction from on high." Always kind and

benevolent, he grew still more tender toward the poor, and more mindful of the common duties of life. He took part in some honorable negotiations which looked toward a possible union of the United Brethren and the Methodist Episcopal Church; of which, however, nothing came beyond an agreement in regard to the use of churches and attendance on class-meetings and love-feasts. In March, 1812, the venerable, catholic-spirited Martin Boehm, his colleague in the superintendency from the beginning, who, like himself, had been laid aside from active labor, fell asleep in Jesus in his eighty-seventh year. Hardly had two months passed when the tender-hearted, eloquent Adam George Geeting, soon after a brief visit to Baltimore, closed his life in triumph. In April of the next year, Bishop Asbury, accompanied by Henry Boehm (son of Martin), paid him a last visit. "I gave an evening to the great Otterbein," says Mr. Asbury; "I found him happy and placid in God," and the evening was a memorable one. Perhaps no other words could have described the condition of the aged saint more accurately, so thoroughly in keeping with the character of the man. In October Christian Newcomer, who now filled the chief place in the superintendency, visited him, and writes that he was "weak and feeble in body, but strong and vigorous in spirit, and full of hope of a blissful immortality and eternal life." It had been the custom to license the preachers that had grown up in the revival, and to give them permission to administer the sacraments without ordination. Mr. Otterbein had not seen the necessity for any thing more, and his modesty and regard for Church order had restrained him from following the solicitations of others. But the brethren in the West had, by vote of the Conference, requested him to ordain Mr. Newcomer, who had been elected a bishop. He yielded to the request, and on the 2d of October Mr. Newcomer and two others, in the vestry of the church, were ordained elders, Mr. Otterbein having been lifted from his bed and placed in a chair. He was assisted by Rev. William Ryland, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was his last public service, and it was marked by his accustomed fervor and unction. As these brethren took leave of him next day, bidding them farewell, he said: "If any inquire after me, tell them I die in the faith I have preached." He continued to grow more feeble day by

day, suffering from an asthmatical affection, till, on November 17, in the evening, his friends perceived that his course was finished. At the close of a prayer by a ministerial friend of the Evangelical Lutheran Church he responded, "It is finished." He sank away, but rallied again soon after, and in expressing his faith in Jesus he said: "The conflict is over and past. I begin to feel an unspeakable fullness of love and divine peace. Lay my head upon my pillow and be still." And as this last service of earth was rendered him he passed away to the company of the redeemed, to be forever with his Lord.

A great company, Christians of all the Churches, attended the funeral. Rev. Dr. Kurtz, of the Lutheran Church, for many years his friend and collaborator in Baltimore, preached in German, and Rev. William Ryland in English. A Protestant Episcopal minister conducted the ceremony at the grave. The departed Christian was akin to them all. But when the Baltimore Conference was held in March, 1814, four months later, by request of the Conference and the Otterbein congregation, Bishop Asbury delivered a discourse in memory of the friend whom he had loved with unvarying affection. He was himself growing feeble, and the shadows were falling across his path. He wrote in his Journal: "By request, I discoursed on the character of the angel of the Church of Philadelphia, in allusion to P. W. Otterbein—the holy, the great Otterbein—whose funeral discourse it was intended to be. Solemnity marked the silent meeting in the German church, where were assembled the members of our Conference and many of the clergy of the city. Forty years have I known the retiring modesty of this man of God; towering majestic above his fellows in learning, wisdom, and grace, yet seeking to be known only of God and the people of God."

Nothing could have been more appropriate. Indeed, we can hardly conceive the record complete without this closing scene. At the ordination of Mr. Asbury to the episcopacy, nearly forty years before, in the Methodist chapel not far away, he had asked the favor of Mr. Otterbein that he should assist in the ceremony. The request was granted, and the stately figure and devout bearing of the German divine made him the most conspicuous person of the company. And now Asbury, infirm and nearly worn-out with incessant labor, the head of a Church

whose rapid increase contained already the prophecy of its future, testifies of his friend in words that will never be forgotten.

The foundations which Otterbein and his co-laborers laid remain, and the superstructure has grown far beyond any anticipation he may have had of its future. The Church of the United Brethren in Christ, of which it is but just to say that he was the founder, retains the spirit and vigor of its youth, and has taken on a more compact organization, increasing in connectional feeling, and establishing the agencies of a thoroughly equipped Church. From having been entirely German it has become so nearly English that it is no longer looked on as a German institution. The old intimate fellowship between the United Brethren and the Methodists has disappeared, but the most kindly feeling still exists. It has grown rather more Methodistic in form and methods in its manhood, preserving, however, the differences which marked its beginning, yet modifying them wisely, we think. It accepted an invitation to the London Methodist Ecumenical Conference, was well represented, and in perfect sympathy with the followers of Wesley. It belongs to the great revival movement of the eighteenth century, and will continue in it so long as it cherishes the memory and preserves the faith and spirit of its illustrious founder.

Art. II.—THE CRITICAL AND THE ETHICAL IN LITERATURE.

The author dreads the critic.—James Ellis.

A just criticism injures no man's proper influence.—T. Tilton.

The most noble criticism is that in which the critic is not the antagonist so much as the rival of the author.—I. Disraeli.

Those who do not read criticism will scarcely merit to be criticised.—B. Disraeli.

The office of the literary critic is a responsible one, often more so even than authorship itself. The reading public may be under less obligation to the writer of a book, able and important though it be, than to the trained critic, who, by his insight and the application of just canons, is able to show its true character, and disclose its real merits and defects, and so assign it to its true place in the world's literature.

The judgment passed upon any literary work by honest and capable critics is generally *final*, and it comes in time to be accepted as the final verdict. Occasionally, indeed, books and authors that were condemned by the critics have made their way to popularity and success; but these exceptions are extremely rare. More and more is it coming to be recognized by the intelligent that it is the *specialist* alone, in any department of human knowledge or attainment, that achieves the best possible success. The testimony of "experts" is invoked by courts and juries in matters of jurisprudence affecting difficult questions relating to sanity, idiocy, murder, and the like. It is the "man of one book" that is now coming to be dreaded by an antagonist.

At no former period in the history of literature has the office of honest and competent criticism been more imperatively called for than at the present time. The reason is to be found in the rapid growth and the enormous extent of our literary life and productiveness. The human mind was never so active, so prolific, so intensified as now. It is so in every department of knowledge and in every class of literary production, from the flippant, sensational "dime novel" to the greatest works in science, in philosophy, in theology, and to the ponderous, all-embracing encyclopedia. In so busy an age, all bustle and excitement, with a thousand interests clamoring and a thousand demands made on men's time and thought, very few find the leisure and capacity to read and profit by one out of a hundred of the five thousand new books which are annually published in the United States alone, or to make the acquaintance of a tithe of our ever-expanding and improving periodical reading. And yet a considerable portion of our professional and intelligent business gentlemen, and a growing class of persons of leisure, men and women of literary tastes and habits, are desirous to know what is going on in the world of letters. But this is impossible unless they can avail themselves of the services of the critics, who are awake to all that is new, and who furnish an epitome, often the best results, of current literary activity in their bright, condensed reviews, by means of the newspaper and periodical press. More and more is the reading public disposed to look to and confide in the judgment of our critics in the matter of books and authors. Macaulay's

assertion is true: "The opinion of the great body of the reading public is very materially influenced even by the unsupported assertions of those who assume a right to criticise."

What is to save the republic of letters from the inroads of the Goths and Vandals of the quill? what is to protect society from a flood of trashy and abominable literature? what is to conserve morality, and religion, and the intellectual life of the race, if there be no high tribunal, no class of men of keen minds and honest purpose and potent influence to stand between a horde of unprincipled writers and unscrupulous publishers on the one hand, and the reading public on the other? In spite of adverse criticism a vast amount of worthless and deleterious literature gets abroad, and is read by tens of thousands, young and old, to the detriment of their minds and morals. If only *one bad book in ten* goes unchallenged and finds its way into print, the aggregate of immoral literature is still fearfully great, and every year increases its amount and its desolating effect. But for the alert eye, and trenchant pen, and faithful service of fearless criticism, the number of pernicious books would be far larger than it now is, and their circulation much greater. Critical fidelity may fail to strangle a bad book while in manuscript or at its birth, yet is quite sure to limit [its influence] and shorten its life-time.

Authors and publishers are coming to appreciate the power of intelligent, honest criticism, and to act accordingly. There is now a manifest respect for this tribunal, and a dread lest its verdict be adverse to their interests. It is quite apparent, to discerning observers, that the opinions of the critics are anticipated and discounted in our great publishing houses before making a venture. It is well understood and accepted as a fact, established by experience, that a great name, and extensive advertising, and hard pushing, will no longer sell a book, and make it popular and a financial success, unless it can contrive to run the gauntlet of the oracles of criticism. And it is somewhat amusing to note the methods adopted to propitiate or forestall their verdict. Authors, also, have come to learn that their fame and fortune are not assured when once their literary progeny is adopted by a leading publisher, and he is introduced by him to the reading world with his best compliments and with all the attractions of a faultless mechanical taste and skill.

Not until it has passed the ordeal of the critics, who lie in wait to discuss the merits of every new candidate for public favor before the ink on its pages is fairly dry, and prophesy its fate with more than sibyl cunning and assurance, does either author or publisher breathe freely. That verdict—for which, often, both wait with trembling anxiety—either elates or depresses, kills or makes alive a "demand," according as a favorable or unfavorable judgment is pronounced. Many a poor author's heart is broken and his anticipated fame changed to sad disappointment, and many a publisher's venture turns out a failure, because the verdict of stern criticism is adverse. And from its unsought yet inevitable decision there lies no appeal. The case of poor Keats was a very sad one. The unjust and brutal assaults of the critics broke his heart. But that day has past. The like could not be repeated now. In the majority of instances sharp and severe criticism is deserved. And it is a benefit to society and an advantage to literature to expose a pretentious, worthless book, and crush to the death one that is false and pernicious in its teaching and tendency.

Our literature, so far as it is distinctively American, is yet in its *childhood.* We are still in the creative period of our literary history. But the critical usually succeeds the creative. And there is growing up among us the critical faculty, and the judicial spirit and habit. And we are not wanting in skillful critical pens that would do honor to a much older literature than ours—whose influence has helped to mold and guide and elevate the thought of this new and mighty nation. The number is not large, nor yet is it insignificant.

While still deficient in breadth of view, in philosophical penetration, in correctness of taste, and in skillful methods, our national literature is certainly respectable, and is to be respected and encouraged. It has a grand mission before it, and a wide field, not only in this great Western Republic, but wherever the ideas and principles it represents find expression, and prospectively in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. Under its first, and comparatively rude, teaching, our native authorship has vastly improved in tone and quality, as well as in volume, until, in many departments, it compares favorably with that of much older nations. This is conspicuously true in the fields of religious and biblical authorship. It were not difficult to name

a considerable number of recent issues from the press—the product of our own writers—which, in point of scholarship, intellectual vigor, breadth of culture, philosophical penetration, critical sagacity, and purity and vigor of style, are fully equal to the very best productions of Great Britain and Germany, in similar departments, during the same period of time. Even in the realm of fiction we have living writers of no mean merit and recognized ability, who, though not equal either in creative power or æsthetic skill to the great masters of modern English fiction—are yet quite equal to any writers of the second class of novelists among the English-speaking people of the Old World.*

"Distance lends enchantment to the view" in literary as well as in physical life. Compare the average productions of our authors to-day with those of a generation or two ago, and the growth, the improvement, in almost every quality, is manifest. One can scarcely credit it, unless he make the investigation for himself. You may test it in any department of literary production: in text-books for schools and colleges and theological seminaries; in the way of helps in preaching; in homiletic studies; in commentaries and encyclopedias; in the realm of theology, biblical exegesis and criticism, and sacred literature, or in fiction and works adapted to children and youth. Our entire Sunday-school literature is of recent growth. To characterize the advance made in all these departments in terms of just appreciation would seem exaggeration. The change wrought has been so gradual from year to year, and from decade to decade, that we have failed to mark and gauge it. We must fairly confront one period with another—the present with, say, fifty years ago—to see what improvement

[* It is, however, in the department of history that our American writers have especially excelled. During the latter half of the century there have been living at the same time a company of historical writers that could scarcely be equaled in any other age or country. Within the city of Boston there were living at the same time Bancroft and Prescott and Motley and Hildreth and Parkman; and in other parts of the country others only the inferiors because of the unequaled excellence of those named, whose united works constitute a mass of literary matter that has not often been equaled by the productions of any former epoch. Nor have we fallen behind other countries in the production of poetry; and the age and country that could present at the same time four such poets as Bryant and Longfellow and Whittier and Lowell need not come into the presence of the potentates of critical learning with the language of apology and deprecation.—Ed.]

we have actually made in all the elements and forces of a true, informing, elevating literature. We are no longer sneered at by the older nations of the world. American scholars are the recognized peers of the best scholars of the Old World. This has been clearly demonstrated in the matter of Bible revision, the most extensive and important literary enterprise since 1611, now brought to a close. American books are reproduced abroad by the score every year. Our magazine literature, in artistic perfection and popular elements of instruction, surpasses every thing they have on the other side of the water, and is sharply competing with the foreign magazines on their own field. We have theological and religious reviews to-day which, in point of scholarship, critical ability, and accomplished literary skill and ability, are the equal of the Old-World-renowned quarterlies of Great Britain which a generation or two ago wielded so prodigious a power both in Church and State; while our newspaper system, for enterprise, skill, and intellectual force, is not inferior to that of the most advanced nation on earth.

I do not claim that this marked progress is all the result of the agency of our literary critics. We have become a reading people. Intelligence and culture are widely diffused. There is a higher standard of literary excellence in general society. Scholarly men and women are found in every circle. Authorship, because of its frequency, has ceased to inspire the world with awe and wonder. Critics and criticism have sprung up on every hand, and gained a hearing and a footing in our literature, and made their influence decidedly felt in every department and along every channel of literary activity. The force has been a silent one, scarcely noted by the public. But it has permeated our literature. It has infused new ideas and loftier ideals into the reading men of the nation, and educated the public tastes and demands until, as a people, we are capable of appreciating true art and genuine literary merit, and will no longer buy the trash and twaddle, the crude and the superficial, which once satisfied us.

There is one important fact bearing upon this subject which is not commonly understood by the public. With rare exceptions the books issued by our publishers and bearing their names are not read by themselves, and their merits made a

matter of personal knowledge, before publication. They depend almost entirely on the critical judgment and ability of their "readers." So at the very fountain-head of literature sits the critic, and his function is exercised with autocratic absoluteness. It rests with him mainly to determine what works offered in manuscript shall see the light and what shall be sold for waste-paper. The power behind the throne, in our great publishing houses, is greater than the king upon it. The unseen, unknown, mysterious personage known as the "reader," stands between author and publisher on the one hand and the reading public on the other, and his dictum really decides the fate, if not of kingdoms, yet of interests more vital to human progress and human well-being than the rise or fall of empires and dynasties.

People are surprised at the great number of books *published.* They would be more surprised still if they knew the number that are read in manuscript and *rejected!* The proportion probably is *at least nineteen to one!* A single publishing house in this city not long ago declined one hundred and fifty in a single month! The aggregate number refused yearly by the publishers of New York city alone will amount to several thousands! It is thus seen that the *veto* power of the critical fraternity is exercised on a large scale. If our literature were cursed and weighted by all the rubbish, the froth and filth, the crude and unwholesome thinking and writing which seeks a publisher, it would soon sink into deserved contempt. Literature and the public owe a hundred-fold more to the ability and integrity of this class among us—a class absolutely unknown to the public, and unrecognized even in literary circles—than they have ever given credit for. If our would-be authors would oftener avail themselves of the critical services of these literary experts, they would do better service to literature, and often save themselves a world of bitter disappointment, and often serious pecuniary loss.

A word as to the scope and function of criticism, before I proceed to discuss its cardinal elements. Webster defines criticism as "the art of judging of the beauties and faults of a literary performance, or of a production in the fine arts." No class of men have been more roundly abused than have our critics. It is surprising, and even amusing, to read the sharp

and silly things which have been written of them. Washington Irving, who certainly had no cause for prejudice by reason of their treatment of him and his writings, declares them a "kind of freebooters in the republic of letters, who, like deer, goats, and diverse other graminivorous animals, gain their subsistence by gorging upon buds and leaves of the young shrubs of the forest, thereby robbing them of their verdure, and retarding their progress to maturity." Sir William Temple's opinion of them was not much better. "The critics," he says, "are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with, having always esteemed them but like brokers who, having no stock of their own, set up a trade with that of other men, buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or credit for themselves, and care not at whose cost." Longfellow's appreciation is nearer the truth, and still not very complimentary: "Critics are sentinels in the grand army of letters, stationed at the corners of newspapers and reviews to challenge every new author." I might cite the opinions of any number of other writers of renown, all showing a total misconception of the function and the dignity of the critical profession.

Why is it? Whence this false idea and inveterate prejudice? Literary criticism has certainly a right to be. It is a high art. Its function is legitimate and honorable, and its proper exercise yields results eminently beneficial to the cause of letters. Its object is not a vulgar, selfish, destructive one, but the elevation of literature by the creation of truer and higher standards of literary excellence. Its scope is not restricted to the office of the literary "scavenger" and "freebooter;" but it is as broad as the domain of literature, and enters into all that is vital in its structure. To cut and slash after a cavalier fashion; to criticise the style and method and logic and blunders of an author; to decry or praise a book in a wholesale and indiscriminate manner, is not a legitimate part of the critic's function. His mission is a broader one, his work more serious and radical. There are general and fundamental elements of literary culture, philosophy, criticism, and mental creation involved in every literary production, whatever be its grade of merit. The critic must comprehend and be able to apply to the case in hand the laws respecting the

structure of language, the philosophy of thought, and the canons of criticism, and he should be familiar with the whole literature of the subject under consideration. He has not half done his work when he has succeeded in laying bare the real life, the actual character, of any particular book; it may be a wise or a foolish, a good or a bad book *in itself*, and the fact scarcely be worth the knowing. But that book has vital relations, it may be, to the whole literature of the world, to the sum total of human thought, human progress, and to the very philosophy and destiny of humanity. To discover this vital principle or relation in an author or in his production, and be able to point it out for the benefit of the world, is among the highest functions of criticism. Comparatively few critics possess this superior gift.

True criticism is not simply *destructive;* it is *creative* as well. If it sometimes kills, it also makes alive. It points out the faults and errors of an author, that they may be corrected, and thus be stripped of the power to do mischief. It exposes fallacies in reasoning, falsehood in statement, and wrong conclusions in argument, that the public may not be misled. It sharply criticises, it may be, gross violations of the rules of mental perception and literary taste and excellence, purely in the interest of good literature. No higher favor can be done to the author himself than impartially and faithfully to analyze and pronounce judgment upon his production according to the rules of just criticism. The more severely and thoroughly the work is done—if fairly done—the better for him. It will do him good, really, not harm. If he is too self-conceited or sensitive to endure it, he ought not to have ventured on authorship. Longfellow's observation is singularly *untrue:* that "the strength of criticism lies only in the weakness of the thing criticised." The reverse is often true. Masterly criticism—criticism that enters into the domain of the creative—has sometimes been evoked by the strength of an antagonist. Criticism has been the *making* of many an author's reputation, and of his excellence and success as well. The shame of his early failure, and the ridicule of the critics, as in the case of Disraeli's failure in his first attempt in the British Commons, have spurred him to new endeavor. He has had the good sense to see the justice of the criticism passed upon him and his work,

and to learn from it. If authors generally could *reconstruct* their literary performances in the light and with the benefit of the strictures passed upon them by the censors of the press, it is safe to say nine tenths of them would undergo material change; not a few, radical transformations.

The same is true of the reading public. No higher favor can be bestowed upon it in a literary, and often in a moral and religious, sense than to read critically and interpret for its benefit the new books and periodicals that are constantly making their appearance; and the more skillfully, conscientiously, and thoroughly the service is done the greater the obligation and the benefit.

One bad book may taint a thousand minds, a whole community, and transmit its pen-poison to many generations. Paine's "Age of Reason" has blasted more lives and damned more souls than the sneering and blasphemous tongues of ten thousand Ingersolls will ever accomplish. There is the power of an evil immortality, the genius of an incarnate devil, in every evil thing which the press brings forth. Hence the man who suppresses or strangles one of this vile progeny is a public benefactor. And the class of men whose keen eyes discern, and whose fearless, trenchant pens write False, Evil, Infidel, Devilish on the foreheads of the literary imps, imbeciles, monsters, and "lying and seducing spirits" which troop and play their pranks and practice their black arts on the stage of human life deserve all honor and praise. They are the true ministers of high art. They are the conservators of a pure, elevating literature, the educators of the people in matters of grave and eternal import.

In this, as in every other profession, there no doubt are those who abuse and pervert their gifts, who use their pens only for pelf or to gain some sinister end. They have as little conscience as they have real literary merit. They are only pretenders, or "wolves in sheep's clothing;" they disgrace the profession, and deserve to be ignominiously drummed out of it. The critical guild should not be judged by those literary quacks and penny-a-liners who infest the offices of newspapers and reviews, and are tolerated by editors and publishers out of sheer pity or good nature, to the detriment of the public and the prejudice of those who do honest and competent work in the realm

of criticism. If my readers desire to see worthy specimens of American literary criticism, I beg to refer them to the leading reviews and journals of the country, which have rendered in the past, and most of which are still rendering, conspicuous services in this important branch of our literature. A vast amount of fair, able, and discriminating criticism, on books and authors and literary matters in general, will be found in these periodicals, covering a large range of literature and going back over a period of seventy years. One not familiar with the history and achievements of these organs of literary thought, culture, and scholarship can form no adequate conception of the extent or value of the service which they have rendered in the republic of letters and in every department of American literature. Not a work of any importance, in any field of human knowledge or literary activity, has appeared during all these decades that has not been critically reviewed in one or more of these standard and influential journals. And it cannot be doubted that the influence of this mass of intelligent, persistent, current criticism on the character of our infant, growing literature, during almost its entire formative period, has been most decided and salutary. This great work of our critics sheds luster on American scholarship and culture.

But it is time to cease this somewhat cursory and general survey of the subject, and proceed to formulate the fundamental principles which enter into and govern all genuine literary criticism. I shall not attempt to exhaust the subject, but content myself with stating, and that briefly, a few of them.

1. I name, first of all, *independence*—absolute, unfettered liberty, both of judgment and expression. This involves not only personal qualities—mental, moral, religious, social, philosophical—but also position, relation, training, motive. No one can perform properly the critic's function unless he be free from all undue bias and prejudice toward author or publisher; from all low ambition and personal interest; independent of all cliques which infest literary circles, as well as of public sentiment. The conscientious reviewer will put all these things aside, as the upright judge on the bench will thrust aside and rule out all irrelevant and improper evidence, and conduct his examination according to the rigid rules of justice, and decide the case on the basis of truth without fear or favor. Conscious of the high

interest involved and of his responsibility to author and publisher, although he may be a stranger to both, and with an eye single to the best interest of literature, the true critic will command his spirit, and render the best verdict of his enlightened and independent judgment.

Temptations not a few beset our critics to depart from strict integrity. To allude to a single mode. The practice has become quite general of late, to have prepared and sent out with every new book and periodical issue, addressed to the "literary editor," a printed notice or criticism; if the former, it is usually accompanied with the commendations of several distinguished names, to whom advance copies have been presented for this purpose. All such criticism is, of course, in the interest of author and publisher. There may be no evil motive in it; yet the effect naturally is to bias favorably the critical opinion solicited. There are "literary editors" who will not be caught with such guile; but the mass of them are entrapped. The work is done to their hands; and done, probably, more ably and gracefully than they could do it after hours of labor. And the result is what we might expect. Whoever will take the trouble to compare on a large scale the criticisms of the press on any new book or magazine will find a suspicious and remarkable *similarity* in hundreds of critical notices. The explanation is, that they have simply copied, with more or less fullness and variation of verbiage, the printed opinion sent out. This is not true of the majority of our reviews, nor of the better class of our magazines and newspapers. *But the mass of readers never see any other criticism of new books and periodicals than this highly spiced and interested kind.* All honor to the critic who has independence and conscience enough to rise above all temptation and every biasing influence; the industry to examine for himself every work submitted to his judgment; and the courage to render his verdict with fearless independence.

2. True criticism will be ruled by the spirit of *candor*. It will be false and perverting if it be otherwise. To detect and condemn the faults, errors, and weak points of a book, and say nothing about its redeeming qualities, is unfair and ungenerous. There is no surer way to kill a book and wrong author and publisher, who are at the mercy of the critic. Such

an act, deliberately perpetrated, is literary scoundrelism, and ought to be visited with condign punishment. And yet the iniquity is practiced continually; practiced boldly and habitually by many critics, and by organs of literary criticism, and by schools and coteries of thought and culture. They have some sinister end to gain, a spite to gratify, a rival interest to subserve, a low ambition to gratify, or a clique to serve. Or they are ruled by prejudice or party zeal, or religious bigotry or sectarian feeling, or infidel intolerance. They have an eye that sees *only evil*, and is blind to the good. They "love darkness rather than light." Like vultures they scent the carrion from afar, and feed on the putrid carcass with delight. *Such* critics may well be called "scavengers."

Whoever carefully watches the criticisms of the press for a period of years will be forced to the painful conclusion that we have, comparatively, *little really candid criticism among us.* Even in circles of high respectability—in literary organs of ability and influence—it is not difficult, often, to detect the animus of secret hostility or prejudice, personal, literary, sectarian, or religious, coloring, shaping, adapting to their special ends no small part of their criticisms. You can often *forecast* their judgment. Candor does not determine it. Praise and censure are not meted out on the broad principles of a universal ethical or literary law, but as interest, caprice, affinity, or taste happens to dictate.

There quietly passed away from us not long ago a rare character, estimated by any fair standard of criticism. A gentleman by instinct and habit; modest in demeanor, with the gentleness and tenderness of a woman; and noble and generous in his appreciation of the merits of his compeers in literary circles. His culture, his ability, natural and acquired, his literary tastes and genius, were of a high order, as the uniform excellence and superiority of his manifold works, both in verse and prose, abundantly prove. That modest author, of solid worth, of honest purpose, of high Christian character and teaching, whose active pen was wholly consecrated to God, to humanity, and to pure literature, charmed and instructed a larger circle of intelligent readers than any other American writer of his times. As an editor, his influence was powerfully felt on the journalism of the country, and conspicuously on our magazine litera-

ture, lifting it to a degree of perfection and a sweep of popular influence never before reached.

And yet that very man and author and popular favorite of a wide cultured circle of men and women never had a standing in some of our literary circles; was regarded and treated by them as a "barbarian." Coteries that claimed pre-eminence in literary matters never admitted him to their fraternity; their organs of criticism never had a kind or appreciative word for him. The author and his writings were uniformly and persistently disparaged by them. Every new work from his pen was greeted with derision or a new blast of detraction. The very popularity of his writings, based on real merit, and the ever-increasing interest shown in them by a widening circle of literary friends and admirers, only served to increase their hostility and bitterness. Their evil nature got the better of their candor, and they could see nothing good in a writer who touched the popular heart as few men have ever done, and touched it only to inspire pure thoughts and noble living. To say that he *felt* this cruel injustice in the very depths of his sensitive nature is to disclose no secret. The bitterness went with him down to a premature grave. Who knows but that it shortened that useful life?

Another case, no less remarkable, and which attracted some attention at the time in a limited circle. A certain quarterly review, of acknowledged ability and careful editorship, for some unknown reason fell under the displeasure of a leading journal of lofty pretension and no little smartness, and for years no occasion was lost to strike at it in the way of disparagement. Had it passed its issues over in silence, or candidly and fairly criticised its conduct or contents, however severely, no exception could have been taken to its course. But its tactics were of the mean type. It was careful to get every issue of the work, and reserve its "notice" of it until it could lay it by the side of all its competitors; and then, by innuendoes, unfair comparisons, and criticisms, place it to the greatest disadvantage before its readers. When it could find no fault with its literary merits, it stooped to fish out and parade in detail every proof-reader's blunder or printer's mishap. Finally the review changed editor and publisher, and instantly this same journal began to pipe on another key. And this is *candid* criticism!

3. True criticism must be *impartial.* Candor has main reference to the particular work under review, and obliges the critic to judge it fairly in its entirety, and award its due meed of praise and censure. Impartiality has a much wider scope, and requires a survey of the whole field of authorship and of literature, and of all the vital questions and interests affecting the public mind and society in relation thereto. Impartial criticism must look at the matter from all sides, from every angle of vision, and allow no circumstances, or conditions, or considerations, to have undue prominence or weight in the final decision. It must separate the subject from every thing extraneous, from all surroundings and influences whatsoever likely to warp or mislead the judgment, and look at the thing in its intrinsic elements and broadest relations in the calm, clear, philosophic light of comprehensive and impartial critical sagacity and judgment. Impartiality, in a word, is the application of the *judicial* spirit and principle in literary criticism. It will not be turned aside from the straight path of honor and right, but with firm, unfaltering step will move on to a rightful deliverance.

This may be said to be an *ideal* criticism. It is the only criticism that is worth the name, and the standard to which all friends of a pure and noble literature should aspire. Would that we had more of it! Our criticism, it may be hoped, will improve as it grows in years, and broadens and strengthens, and is fostered and appreciated by an enlightened and generous public sentiment. Its evil elements will slough off under the influence of a healthier moral and literary atmosphere. As its ethical element tones up its general character, and it rises to the dignity and standing of an important and recognized profession in the republic of letters, with a distinct class of genuine literary aristocrats, the low-minded and unworthy members of it will one by one drop off or be rooted out.

4. True criticism is *honest.* There is no relation or function in life in which *downright honesty* is more imperatively necessary than in the realm of literary criticism. The character of their literature will, in the long run, determine the character and the life of a people and rule their destiny. Literature has come to be mightier than armies and navies; mightier than the sword, and commerce, and diplomacy, and statesmanship, and

kingly power. No "railroad king," with a hundred millions to back him, is as potent a force to-day in the affairs of the world as the king of the quill. The knights of criticism are well-nigh masters in the realm of thought. Brains—educated intellect—and not physical power, or wealth, or aristocracy, actually rule in this mundane sphere. The lords of the press are the lords of human thought, human progress, and human destiny.

This is a fact which cannot be truthfully denied. It is a tremendous fact, the full significance of which we fail to note. *What* is to be the history, the development, the final destiny of this greatest of the nationalities of the future, in numbers and material resources and power? No man or patriot, no scholar or Christian, can ponder this question and not feel anxious. And yet this momentous problem will be largely affected by the character of the literature of the future. Our thinkers, writers, critics, publishers, and those who aid and abet them in their work, will decide the matter for us. The brains and the pens of the masters of thought—the leaders and factors of the world's intellectual life in the realms of science, history, political economy, philosophy, theology, and fiction—will be chief forces working out the grandest destiny that history has ever recorded of any people; or they will cause a downfall so fearful in its extent, and so overwhelming in its ruin, as to shake the whole earth.

Let the writers of our popular reading ignore the ethical principle, strike down personal purity, and undermine the family constitution—let socialistic ideas take root in the minds and habits of the great working classes—let an atheistic agnosticism cast its baleful shadow over the nation, and let the censors of the press be as "dumb dogs that will not bark"—let this state of things ensue, and the work of ruin will be done. The decadence of moral virtue is the sure precursor of the decadence of national strength and greatness. The corruption and defilement of a nation's literature means the corruption of social virtue in the body politic, the destruction of integrity and honor in all the relations and walks of life, and the final complete overthrow of order and good government. One of the greatest perils to our literature, and through it to the people, lies in this direction. The weakest point in our lit-

erary criticism lies just here. Too many of the critics of the press are wanting in literary *honesty:* are not thoroughly conscientious and reliable. They do not ply their vocation in the fear of God, with a due sense of responsibility to the reading world. They are not always careful to give a verdict in strict accordance with truth and righteousness. The purity of the critical ermine is often, like that of the judicial, soiled by passion or interest. If a critic has not taken time and thought sufficient to know just what he is criticising, he ought in all fairness to say so, and let his guess go for what it is worth. But are not hundreds of books reviewed, and the reviewer's judgment paraded before the public, when not so much as the leaves of the book have been cut! Or, is that honest criticism which, after mastering the contents of a work—its faults and beauties, its merits and demerits—fails to give its honest opinion of it as a whole? Is that honest criticism which is restrained by a false delicacy, by fear of giving offense or wounding feelings, or by favoritism of any kind, from giving free, emphatic expression of disapproval and censure whenever and wherever the occasion demands it, and especially when truth, morality, and literary integrity are involved?

5. All worthy criticism must be *thorough.* Superficiality is one of the great faults of criticism, and indeed of all our literature. Either from too great haste or from incapacity for the difficult service, a large proportion of the work of our critics is not well done. It is too general in its character. It does not go below the surface. It tithes "mint, anise, and cummin," and passes over "the weightier matters of the law." It strains out the gnat and swallows the camel. It notes typographical errors, and fails to discern the gist of a book. It is quick to detect crudities of thought, infelicities of expression, and flaws in the arrangement of an author, and yet fails to grasp his argument or comprehend the scope and substance of his production. It praises or blames inordinately, because it lacks the discriminating faculty, or does not know how to apply the laws of criticism. It concerns itself with matters trivial, which the ordinary reader would be likely to see for himself, while the real inwardness of the book is not discovered, and the essential qualities and chief merits or defects of it, which ought to challenge the critic's sagacity and judgment, and which

the mass of uncritical readers may not be competent to detect or see in their full light, are not so much as hinted at.

This characterization applies to much of the literary criticism of the newspaper press, and to not a little that is found in our magazines. Frequently is it the case that only some trivial exception is taken to a work that is rotten to its core; and a trashy and even bad book is praised, while in the same issue a meritorious book is condemned, or noticed only by giving its title. This arises, it may be, not from malice or evil motive, but from sheer critical incapacity or mental laziness, or from the force of a most pernicious habit which has grown up among editors of passing judgment on books on the slightest glance at their contents, or from farming out the service—the most difficult and important which pertains to journalism—to unknown and irresponsible scribblers.

The point under consideration will *test the critic's mettle*—determine the breadth and depth of his culture, and the range of his critical sagacity and acumen. It is child's play, in reviewing a work, to note its mechanical defects, its infelicities of style, its defective reasoning, its surface errors, its immediate relations and aptitude. But when all this is accomplished the critic's main task is still before him. He must penetrate to the core thoughts of the author's mind. He must master his use of terms, his methods of construction, his philosophy, his essential argument, and all the materials and conditions which enter into the production. He must be able to look at it from the author's own point of view, and, in a measure, with his eyes; to comprehend his purpose, his limitations, his environments, and be able to judge whether his facts or arguments are sufficient to warrant his conclusions, and whether the performance, as a whole, is a creditable one to the author, and one that has claims on public attention and patronage. In no other way, at no less cost of time, patience, and critical ability, is it possible to do justice to a literary work of any moment, and determine its character, place, and mission in the world of letters. And this involves the necessity of extensive reading and culture, of trained sagacity and sound critical judgment, as well as a thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and the structure and philosophy of literature. It is easy for one to write a history; to gather and arrange the facts, events, and

epochs which constitute the staple of all history, and set them forth with due order and perspicacity: we have any number of such histories. But it is quite another thing and a severer task to write a *philosophy of history;* to place this mass of isolated facts and events and epochs in their several relations of cause and sequence, so as to be able to deduce from them, by broad and philosophical generalizations, the law of history, and thus discover and set forth the potent factors which govern the growth, development, and decay of nations, peoples, and civilizations. Such histories are of immense value to the statesman, the scientist, the political economist, the moralist, and the student of Providence.

It is more than possible to elevate literary criticism into a science; to infuse into it the spirit and life of a divine and all-pervasive philosophy. There *is a vital philosophy pervading all true thought, all nature and Providence.* It dominates in heaven. It rules the stars. Its circuit is as limitless as universal being. It controls the course of nations, the rise and fall of empires, the growth and decadence of civilizations. It permeates the sphere of the mental and the spiritual. The intellects of men and angels are pervaded by it, and the Divine Intelligence is the seat and throne of its power. And it is possible for the devout student in the kingdom of thought to come under the attraction of this universal law; to feel the kindlings of this heavenly power, and under the touch of its wondrous inspiration to attain to a true conception of the dignity and glory of literature, and of the mission of those who strive to make it the handmaid of religion, and the very "power of God," for the elevation and sanctification of humanity.

6. Criticism, in order to answer its high end, must be *truthful*—not only in the ethical sense, but in the literary sense as well; truthful to nature as well as to God, and truthful to the ideals and principles which govern all true literary conception and life. Truthfulness is essential in every relation and sphere of life, but nowhere more so than in all literary work. This law of perfect truthfulness must be respected and obeyed or there will be no real or enduring success. History, biography, science, theology, must be true to facts; philosophy must be true to mental processes; poetry must be true to the laws of

the emotions; and fiction must be true to human nature in all its multiform aspects and conditions, and to actual life in common experience and observation. One of Sir Walter Scott's friends once laughed at his scrupulous fidelity to local description. The author's reply showed not only the high ideal of excellence at which he aimed, but also the insight of genius. As in nature herself no two scenes were exactly alike, so whoever presented truly what was before his eyes would possess the same variety in his descriptions, and exhibit apparently an imagination as boundless as the range of nature in the scenes recorded.

One of the greatest charms of Shakespeare, and one of the secrets of his world-wide popularity and permanent place in the world's literature, is the accuracy and truthfulness of his delineations. His anatomy of the human passions, and his portrayal of the power and workings of a guilty conscience, are true to the very life. The universal heart and conscience of mankind so recognize them. He cleaves straight down through the shams and disguises and subterfuges of sin and guilt, and lays bare the inner heart, with its lusts and defilements and sinuosities, to the consciousness of every man and to the observation of the world. The main reason why we have to-day so few writers of fiction that touch and sway the popular heart, and command the homage of the intelligent and cultured class, is, because we have so few masters in this line of excellence. George Eliot excels them all in mental power and grasp of thought; but many of her novels are philosophical disquisitions on the dark problems of life and being, rather than the delineations of actual human hopes and passions and lives in this existing world of ours. If the heroes and heroines of modern fiction were all gathered into one community, and clothed with flesh and blood, and each made to play his or her several parts, as described by our writers, what a community it would be! Unlike any thing ever seen on this mundane globe. And what a society it would constitute!—what a life it would present! And yet this is the species of humanity, this the type of life, this the society that our novelists picture out to the youthful fancy, describe as reality in human experience, delineate in character to instruct the world. The picture is essentially FALSE; there is no correspondence to actual nature and the

common lives of men and women. *Truthfulness* is sacrificed for the sake of effect or popularity, or because of the dominance of false tastes and standards, and in response to a vitiated demand. Dickens would have swayed a much more potent force while living, and his popularity would not have so rapidly declined after his death, had he been more truthful in his representations of human nature and life. Many of his characters are such exceptional oddities or monstrosities that they seem, to the average reader, to be merely caricatures. Possibly *he* may have seen the models of his characters in the slums and dark alleys of London life; but to the mass of his readers they are happily palpable untruths, and libels on human nature. Thackeray, with less genius than Dickens, is far more truthful to the actual, common, every-day life and humanity of the world, and he is therefore read with more pleasure and instruction.

It is the duty of criticism not only to set a conspicuous example of truthfulness in its own sphere, but to exact the same virtue, both on the ground of art and morals, throughout the realm of literature. It is bound to mark the absence of this essential quality, to detect and expose the counterfeit semblance, and to arraign and condemn, in the interest of sound literature, whatever is untruthful in spirit or in form. The critic will be false to the trust reposed in him if he shirks this duty. His own nature should be responsive to the demands of this high law, and he should be strict and fearless in visiting censure for every breach of it upon whomsoever the censure may fall. We shall not have a literature worthy of a free, cultured, Christian people until we weed out that which is unreal, untrue to nature, to art, to genuine virtue and pure living. The task is a severe one, but it can be accomplished.

7. Literary criticism, above all things, must *conform to the ethical principles of Christianity.* It is not necessary that Christian morality be formally taught in literary circles and in general literature; but the spirit of it, and the fundamental law of it, must underlie and permeate and be the "salt" of all thinking and writing and teaching, or we cannot create or conserve a clean, vital, healthy, vigorous literature. There must of necessity be freedom from all moral taint, and a high moral end and tendency. Literature is the expression, the in-

tellectual and moral force and trend, of the thinking and the life of a people. The institutions, the character, the civilization of any age or people, will not be superior to the actual and general character given to its literary development. It is not possible to think and act correctly—to give the right tone and direction to the human intellect—to subordinate the evil proclivities and passions of our fallen nature; to conserve liberty, social order, virtue, and truth, in the individual, the family, and the state—to make humanity true to itself and to the high end of its being, unless the principles of the Decalogue and the sublime precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are practically recognized as of universal and perpetual obligation in the entire realm of literature, as well as in the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. All law, in heaven and on earth, is based on the ethical principle. Emerson, with all his bright sayings, never uttered a truer or more comprehensive truth than when he wrote this pregnant sentence: "*Health of mind consists in the perception of law.*" Law is the essence of right embodied and formulated. Morality, in its widest scope and essential spirit, is obedience to that divine law which runs through all nature, physical, mental, and spiritual. Human nature, as well as the angelic nature, is based on moral foundations, deep laid in the conscience, and all-pervasive. In no sphere of thought or action, in no actual or conceivable condition of being or society, can a man absolve himself from allegiance to this high law. It is dominant every-where. The words of the psalmist are literally true, as well as poetically beautiful: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard."

The sentiment is creeping in among us that art and strict morals are incompatible, and if one or the other must be sacrificed the *ethical* must suffer. This false and atrocious sentiment has not as yet gained much headway in our literature. Even American fiction is but slightly tainted with it. But in art it has made fearful strides. Nude pictures, colored to the life, and the amatory passions depicted and spread out to the eye, both in painting and sculpture, are common sights in our art galleries and in the studios of artists, and on the walls of

many a palatial home. The London "Times" has recently contained several columns of sharp criticism on nude art in the Royal Academy exhibitions, of which there has been a great increase of late years. How long ere this pernicious sentiment will work its way into our literature, especially our fiction, to taint and blast the morals of the nation? If high art can thrive only at the expense of ethical purity and social virtue, then perish high art, and give us instead old-fashioned puritanical severity. We are on the downward grade when "technic is of more importance in any art than moral effect, and market price most important of all."

We do not urge the claims of religion, nor the dogmas of the Church, in thus insisting on the recognition of the moral code of the Bible as the basis and essential law of all literature, for that law is restricted to no creed, nor faith, nor religious belief, nor unbelief. It is alike binding on the Christian and the infidel, on the Jew and the Gentile, on the philosopher and the peasant. It belongs to *man as man*—to universal humanity; and applies in every relation and act and condition of life. The supreme obligation of this eternal and universal law is not abated one iota because a man rejects "the gospel of the grace of God" and lives in defiance of its teachings. The scholar, the writer, the critic, the publisher, the reader, are each and all amenable to this ethical law for every sentiment expressed, and for every book written, published, bought, and read. It is very *responsible* business, this putting on paper and in type, in permanent life, for the eye and mind of mankind during all the on-coming ages of time, the thoughts of one's mind, the passions of one's heart, the moods and habits of one's inner being, and the principles which govern and find expression in one's outward life. The man who deliberately assails the fundamental law of ethics—a law absolutely essential to the health and well-being of God's moral universe—by the improper, sinful use of pen and type and press, is the enemy of his race, and the deadly foe of society and of universal humanity, a thousand-fold more so than if he had simply broken a human statute. The writers and publishers of that fearful mass of vicious literature which so shocks the sensibilities of the better class in society, and is filling the land with vice and crime in every loathsome form and in startling proportions, are

infinitely more criminal than the pirates who plunder and murder upon the high seas; or than the gambler, the seducer, or the kidnapper, who ply their devilish arts on the land. They strike at a universal law; they assail virtue at its source, and society at its most vulnerable points, and taint, corrupt, and demoralize the entire race of man, as far as the poison of their writings is felt.

The French novel is to-day sapping the very foundations of moral virtue in the family and the state, and it tends with fearful certainty to subvert social order and civil liberty, and to bring on again in France the reign of communism, anarchy, and blood-thirsty passion. When the ethical principle is discarded by the popular writers of a people; when the "salt" of social virtue is perished out of its popular literature and the flood-gates of immoral sentiment and passion are opened, moral and social decadence, putrefaction, and ruin are the inevitable results. No power of genius, no brilliancy of intellect, no amount of scholarship among its savants, or of learning cloistered in universities, or of intelligence diffused among the people, and no passion for art or love of liberty, can then stay the tide of desolation. When moral restraints are gone, when marital ties are dissolved at will, when the integrity of virtue is sneered at, and the popular mind is flooded with the filth of lustful sentiment and passion, a people will surely ripen for the terrible visitations of divine righteousness.

We have not wholly escaped the vile contagion in this land where Puritan morals have been so long dominant. The tendency among us is in the same direction. The same exciting causes exist here as on the other side of the great sea. Already agencies and forces are at work to demoralize the public conscience and debauch the morals of the people, particularly of our children and youth, by obscene pictures and by the vilest kinds of reading. We have writers, too, in any number, who are ready to sell their brains and pens (morals they have none) to this iniquitous trade. They are constantly on the outlook for opportunities. And we have publishers who have grown rich by printing and circulating cheap novels and story papers by the million which are a disgrace to our Christian name and civilization—a mass of literature which, like the frogs of Egypt, is every-where where there is a boy

or a girl to be decoyed to ruin, or an evil heart to be inflamed with lust—a literature without one redeeming trait, either in a literary or moral sense, and which only panders to vice, idleness, immorality, and crime, and which, on the Sabbath and on every day of the week, is educating millions of the children and youth of this land for the brothel, the penitentiary, and the gallows.

The newspaper press of this country, while we heartily recognize its ability and enterprise, and appreciate its general excellence, is nevertheless a source of *imminent danger to our morals.* The greater its excellence in other respects and the more potent its influence, the greater the danger if that danger really exists. And this peril is seen in two potent facts: the first is, that the ethical principle has come to be quite generally set at naught, even by our leading journals, in their anxiety to furnish "newsy," exciting, popular reading. And hence scandals, intrigues, "interviews," real or imaginary, marital infelicities, divorce and seduction suits, murders, robberies, hangings, suicides, etc., are spread out in their columns under startling headings and sub-headings in all their disgusting details, and with all their demoralizing suggestions and concomitants. It would be an insult to common sense to attempt to justify this course on moral grounds, or as a necessity in journalism. The other fact is the "Sunday" newspaper. It dates back only a few years, and already it is an established institution in the land, and a factor of tremendous influence for harm. How is it possible to preserve intact our American Sabbath, when more than five hundred leading journals of the country on that day are scattering their millions of papers, by means of Sunday trains and expresses and carriers through all our cities and country districts, tempting multitudes to buy and read and join them in secularizing the Sabbath. Their example and influence are doing more to demoralize our Sunday and turn it into a day of recreation, pleasure, and dissipation than all other agencies put together. With this example and influence operating in full force, it is morally impossible to stay the demand and tendency to open our parks and museums and libraries and theaters on the Sabbath, and thus make that day, hitherto the glory of English-speaking Christendom, what it is in Continental Europe.

There is one historical fact, expressed in the annexed paragraph, that affords some comfort:

> The literature of the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples has always had a tolerably clear idea that there is a necessary connection between art and ethics. It has contained many mischievous or frivolous books; it has wavered between the austerity of Bunyan and the license of the dramatists of the Restoration; it has been successively influenced by Norman-French, Italian, Latin, and Greek culture; but it has never lost sight of certain principles peculiarly its own. One of these principles is, that a book should have a definite purpose, a real reason for being, if it expects a long life. This principle has not been lost even in the imaginative literature of England and America.

And as the Anglo-Saxon *race* seems destined to be the dominant race of the future, we may hope that Anglo-Saxon *literature*, freed from its incidental impurities, will dominate also in the world of letters.

Art. III.—THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The eighteenth may be regarded as an epochal century in England's long and celebrated history. Its fluctuating and unpromising civilization—the degeneracy and corruption of its political institutions—the variableness and uncertainty of its social tendencies—and both the insipidity and animation, the decline and restoration, of religious ideas among the people—attract the attention of the student of the period.

In its activities, aims, and achievements, it is a century of marked contrasts, the extremes of which are moral disorganization and religious revival. Vices flourish as luxuriantly as virtues; business stagnation balances commercial enterprise; select learning is outwitted by the common ignorance; theological independence is matched by universal depravity.

Great names adorn the records of the one hundred years. Steele, Addison, Pope, Sir Isaac Newton, Blackstone, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, Paley, Burke, Swift, Bolingbroke, Hume, Chesterfield, and Gibbon appear, constituting an array of brilliant thinkers and writers not eclipsed by the intellectual

giants of the Elizabethan era. Great events, discoveries, inventions, and wars—notably the war with the American colonies followed by their independence—indicate the progressive and military spirit of England; while angry contentions in parliament and changes in ministerial leadership denote political unrest and a public demand for greater liberty of thought and action. The idea of the sovereignty and the greatness of man is cherished as never before, and is announced with an elegance of phrase scarcely less attractive than the idea itself.

Great preachers are at the front emphasizing the natural and moral rights of the individual, and uncovering the doctrine of human responsibility which had been obscured under the indifferent teaching of the Established Church. Whitefield, the Wesleys, Fletcher, Venn, Robertson, Bishop Watson, Romaine, Doddridge, Warburton, Campbell, Butler, and Talbot are heard throughout the kingdom, agitating the public feeling, reviving a religious enthusiasm, and, notwithstanding their clashings and antagonisms, preparing the nation for a moral upheaval.

The result of these political struggles in parliament, of the hostile controversies among the theologians, and of the investigating spirit in literary pursuit, was the broadening of both political and religious inquiry, which culminated in new ecclesiastical movements and the pronounced necessity of religion to the nation.

Our interest in its history grows out of the relation of its events to the condition of society and the Church at the present time, both in England and America. Without the eighteenth century the nineteenth had not been. The nineteenth is the heir of the religion, the political ideas, the social manners, and churchly teachings of the eighteenth century. The doctrines, laws, usages, and, to some extent, the spirit of the one, together with its literature and scientific aims, have been transferred to the other.

Standing apart from the ages as does the eighteenth, and memorable as it is for the second Reformation of England, it is surprising that the literature of the period, especially the written history of the Church and of the religious developments of that time, is so limited, so difficult of access, and so incomplete and unsatisfactory when obtained and studied. Of great events, great personages, great changes, the revelation is sufficient;

but of historical details, even of prominent facts, there is a great paucity. Like towering peaks do great political or religious movements seem to the observer; but he must be content with general statements respecting the same, or minute descriptions of whose authenticity he is not quite assured. Hume and Macaulay suspend their histories with the close of the seventeenth century. Allison forgets the order of the events he is narrating, handing over a miscellany of facts, valuable as facts, but without declaring that inner connection which constitutes an historic plan, or the spirit of providential movements. Froude completes the reign of Elizabeth and stops. Of political historians Charles Knight alone succinctly traverses the century. Of Church historians Neander, voluminous and reliable, does not advance beyond the thirteenth century; D'Aubigné, the chief authority on the European Reformation, lays down his pen at the middle of the sixteenth century; Milner, describing the career of the Church from the time of Christ, concludes his labors with a description of the Diet at Augsburg; Pressensé, charming and elegant, does not venture beyond the limits of the apostolic mission; Southey, writing elaborately of John Wesley, devotes a solitary and ambiguous chapter to the state of religion in England during the rise of Methodism; Mosheim engages to reproduce the contents of the century, but, besides being governed by prejudice, which is always a disqualification for authentic writing, he gives little account of the ministry, save the controversies and schisms, conducted by theologians, which rent the Church. Our own Dr. Abel Stevens supplies in part the connecting links, and is authentic within his limitations, but the impartial student feels that he is writing of an individual or of a single ecclesiastical movement rather than of a country, or of a century, or of the general life of the Christian Church in England. The same observation applies to Isaac Taylor, who writes of Wesley and Methodism.

The materials for a paper on the English ministry of the eighteenth century are not easily obtained, and especially have not been anticipated or furnished by the popular writers named. A history of the essential facts, however, the later historians, such as Lecky, Wilson, Shaw, and Greene, have sought to preserve; and Church annalists, pamphleteers, and biographers have contributed incidental references which are

valuable in the making of an estimate of what the Church was, and what it accomplished during the passage of one hundred years.

The first question, then, to be settled is, How shall the century be investigated? In what form and order shall the segregated facts be presented? Is there an historical order, or are the events with which we deal an accidental grouping without logical processes and connections? If the events to be considered succeeded one another as cause and effect, or were so linked that one suggested another, the unraveling of the historic process, while it might require sagacity to discover the *nexus* where it is obscure, would be a delightful and perhaps a comparatively easy task. In that case our search would be for operating causes, or moving principles. If the century, however, is without apparent historic or providential order—if it is a chaos of proceedings, a constant collision rather than a visible development of ideas and purposes—the task, though more difficult, will be equally delightful, for it will consist in an attempt to bring order out of chaos, and to reduce the manifold manifestations of the civil and religious life of the people to a system. For system there is in all history. History is only a plan. The plan, manifest or occult, is there and always in execution. Events signify system; apparently disorderly events only a hidden plan.

Happily, the century was not chaotic, except at times in appearance, nor was it definitely regular in its development; and yet the homogeneity of its elemental forces, the juxtaposition of its varied movements, the conspicuousness of its permanent features, and the perpetuity of its religious results, justify the attempt at a simple classification of its historic phases and products.

Chronologically, it may be divided into three periods, the ruling factor of which may be religion in its enlarged and universal sense, or some central figure or personage who embodied himself in some particular movement which affected the century, or a commanding event which was the core of a vital and sovereign change or achievement. Divided in respect to its relation to religion, the three following periods will be the result: (1) The non-religious period; (2) The religious period; (3) The anti-religious, or reactionary, period. Divided with reference to a central figure, Wesley, for example, we shall

have the following: (1) The ante-Wesley period; (2) The Wesley period; (3) The post-Wesley period. Divided in view of some religious movement, as Methodism, the arrangement must be: The pre-Methodistic period; the Methodistic period; the post-Methodistic period. In substance these divisions are one, covering the same periods, embracing the same facts, and including the same order of history. Another writer, selecting the Established Church, or the Oxford University, or an archbishop, as a starting-point or basis of division, would be compelled to recognize the facts, if not the order of the facts, as here given, for it is impossible to comprehend religion in its historic phases in England from Queen Anne to George IV. without including that masterpiece of evangelistic workmanship—Methodism, with the originating work and molding influence of the Wesleys.

Not to appear as confining our observation to one range of thought, we propose to review in the order of the first division; that is, to consider the century in its relation to religion—the non-religious, the religious, and the anti-religious, or reactionary, periods of English history.

The non-religious period, beginning with Queen Anne's reign in the year 1702, spans thirty or forty years, during which there was a manifest decline of the spirit of religion, of the practice of its virtues, of a performance of its duties, and of a belief of its doctrines; and, as doctrine and life, or belief in the truth and correct living, are indissolubly joined, stagnation in morals and a growing tendency to formalism soon appeared. The national Church, itself the school of formalistic ideas and worships, and relying rather upon parliamentary support than upon the voluntary offerings of the people, became more tyrannical than ever, oppressing all nonconforming religionists with unbearable exactions and limitations, and extinguishing, by its non-aggressive spirit, all love of religious development in the souls of men. Its chief and persistent aim was to maintain itself without regard to the spread of religion, the demands of the Gospel, or the welfare of the people.

Perhaps a national Church is a divinely ordered institution, having functions which it is quite impossible for a spontaneous Church to discharge; but just what those functions are no

writer has satisfactorily pointed out. It is conceded that when spiritual life has departed from an ecclesiastical organization, or is in the process of departure, connection with the State may prove advantageous to the preservation of its form; it may continue to exist even when dead, but formal existence cannot be a substitute for spiritual life. When the Church has ceased to be spiritual it is a question if it is any longer a Church. It may observe beautiful forms of worship; its creed may have legal sanction; its ministry may be supported out of the national treasury; but æstheticism and taxation are not the criteria of Church life. The cross must not be covered with flowers; cultivated Unitarianism buries it out of sight with bouquets: it must stream with blood. A bloody, not a beautiful, cross—a spiritual, not an æsthetic, worship—a divine, not a parliamentary, creed—must enter into vital religion. These, indeed, are the forces of a true religion. Formalism, the result of national establishments, is sometimes more ruinous than, and therefore not to be preferred to, death itself; for it is a deceptive pretense, under whose blighting influence not only the Church falls into sleep, but also the world, quick to discover the deception, loses faith in the genuine manifestations of religion. If the national Church of England contributed to the preservation of religion, certainly it failed perceptibly to extend it; it aimed not at extension; it was without the missionary impulse—it lived upon itself. Even its forms lost their sanctity and were imperfectly conducted, and in many instances entirely abandoned. No warrant is given to concede that the religion of ecclesiasticism, of pure but spiritless forms, flourished openly, or exerted any considerable religious influence in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was salt that had lost its savor.

To obtain a just estimate of this period and understand the character of the forces at work to undermine true religion, we must consider England's condition in its philosophical, social, political, and religious aspects—a fourfold view, but with an underlying unity in that each aspect is related to the final determination of the period.

What was the relation of the prevailing philosophic teaching to religion? Did philosophy and religion mutually support each other, or were they antagonistic? Genuine philosophy, in

its highest attempts, is theological, for it deals with theistical and ethical problems. Both consider the unconditioned, the absolute, the infinite; both inquire concerning the soul, the limits of knowledge, and seek and suggest laws for the regulation of human conduct; both are interpreters of nature or the universe. Philosophy, in its relation to theological and ethical truth, must support or oppose religion in its relation to the same truth. It cannot be indifferent to the fundamental teachings of religion. It must be atheistic, deistic, or theistic; it must accept the spiritual character of man or plunge into materialism; it must sustain Sinai, as it voices the supreme law, or antagonize it with other commandments; it must bow to a supernaturalistic religion or frame a scientific morality. This relation is vital, sovereign, indissoluble.

What was the attitude of the English philosophy of the eighteenth century toward the Christian religion? Rugged Thomas Carlyle says: "The eighteenth was a skeptical century, in which little word there is a whole Pandora's Box of miseries." As between a reverential and skeptical philosophy, we are compelled to decide that it was the latter; it was strangely and strongly infidelic, impregnated with the poison of a hateful prejudice to all alleged supernatural truth. Deriving its impulse from the seventeenth century, and going even to the sixteenth for philosophic idioms and ideas, it yet had a complexion and motion of its own, and was equally destructive of the ancient landmarks of religion. Borrowing from Hobbes and Shaftesbury certain questionable ethical theories, it strove to undermine the popular faith in the sacredness and authority of moral distinctions; and, listening to Locke, who, employing the empirical method in the analysis of the mind's processes and operations, unintentionally but absolutely opened the gates to the rankest materialistic heresies, overwhelming disaster to the popular conceptions of immortality and responsibility followed.

These philosophers, with others, prepared the way for the more reckless assaults of Hume, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and Gibbon, who applied the torch to the temple of truth, smoking its oldest pillars and consuming a fragment of its altar. The work was heroic, the effect terrific, suicidal. Such lofty minds uniting in a crusade against the doctrine of revelation—that is, supernaturally-communicated truth—and holding up the insti-

tutions of religion to the scorn and calumny of the multitude, succeeded in turning the public thought from the subject of revealed truth, or exposed to their own satisfaction the hollowness of the mission of the Church in urging such truth upon the attention of men. The infidel philosophy of this period, however, must not be confounded with the scientific philosophy of the times, which, under the leadership of such an authority as Sir Isaac Newton, was in strange contrast with the former, and resisted it to the extent of its power. Scientific philosophy, or philosophical science, in his hands was a supporter of Christian truth. Science then, however, was in its rudimentary stages, and did not command the field. Even Newton's discoveries were held for some time in disrepute, and Newton himself, for a little while, doubted the reality of the law of gravitation which he announced. Science had a suspicious air, and, joining itself to religion, lost the little favor it received on its own account. Sneering Horace Walpole and the refined but poisoning Chesterfield swayed the moral sentiment of the nation, while the devoted Newton's protests were filed away for future reference.

The failure of science to resist infidelic encroachments and aid religion in its weighty tasks, though it raised its arm to strike the enemy, was owing in part to the division or antagonism of its own followers. Scientific philosophy was by no means a unit, either in its methods, purposes, results, or the form in which the results were announced. Newton himself was opposed, under the reign of George I., by Hutchinson, who, framing a perverted philosophical conception of the universe out of the Mosaic cosmogony, drew to his support many of the ablest clergymen of the kingdom, among them George Horne, Romaine, Jones, and Wetherell. What could be expected of a ministry that, incompetent to silence the scoffer and the infidel by a defense of the Scriptures, arrayed itself against that form of science which alone confirmed the Scriptures? Such is the spectacle presented in the non-religious period of England: the ministry ridiculed and overthrown by the infidel, the Bible torn in shreds by the scoffer, the institutions of religion calumniated by outspoken unbelievers, the Church abandoned by the multitudes, and science divided against itself respecting philosophical and revealed truth. If

the intellect of England was thus adrift; if its philosophy was in the hands of infidels; if its ministry were abetting false science; if the nation had outgrown the necessity of a Church, and Bible truth was actually superseded by skeptical dogmatism, the decline of the morals of the nation has an easy explanation. The result, however, is exceedingly painful to contemplate, and is a commentary on the character and moral influence of philosophic infidelity.

What was the social status of England at this time? Was it such as to conserve the spread of religion and the purposes of the Gospel, or were the social forces in antagonism to religious education and discipline? England then, even more than now, cherished the aristocratic spirit which divided the people, arraying on one side the nobles, lords, and princes, and on the other the multitudes. Social life, social manners, social opinions, originated with the aristocratic classes; the court, with its stiffness and sternness, was in power. But scientific and philosophic truths are not dependent upon aristocratic approval for favor or authority, since the test of truth is not human opinion of it, but its own essence, or the form of its manifestation. Truth proves itself. Religion, however, as taught, or as a dogmatic deduction from the Scriptures, was subject to the aristocratic rule of opinion, and was lowered to the level of social ideas and sanctions. It must obtain the consent of the aristocracy or be powerless. Religious truth, in itself, is as independent of opinion as scientific truth, and is to be tested by its own merits; but while the aristocracies submitted to philosophic truth, and went down with it, they compelled religious truth, as it was taught, to submit to them, and so wrested it to their destruction. Religious truth had favor or disfavor as the aristocracy nodded assent or withheld it. Unfortunately the aristocracies of the country were unfriendly to evangelical religion. Submitting to an unfriendly and perverted philosophy, it was natural that they should reject the religion which it condemned. The animadversions on religion of the Duchess of Buckingham, the criticisms of Whitefield by Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the peculiar social trials of Lady Huntingdon, reveal the iniquitous condition of the upper classes in England, and that they preferred infidelity to religion.

Let us not be understood as implying that there were no

brave spirits in this period of decline, or that nothing was done to check the declension. Christian philosophers resisted the skeptical philosophy; Christian ministers sorrowed over the decadence of Christianity; of aristocratic families, not a few mourned over the lapse of evangelical religion, and the disappearance of personal piety; but in general, from Queen Anne, who favored the Established Church against all dissenting classes, though it was a lifeless institution, down through all grades of society, there was little reverence for religious truth, and none whatever for the forms of religious worship. There was a social religion in England, but not a *religious* religion. The social, the high-toned, classes, the aristocracies, and royalty itself, were unacquainted with true religion, and by the force of a resistless influence suppressed its first manifestations.

The politics of the country—what support was found for religion here? Was it not the province of Parliament to sustain the Established Church, to support its ministers, to see that the forms of religion were publicly observed, and that public morality was promoted? In other words, while philosophy was dictating the submission of religion to its own primary settlements of moral questions, and while the social forces were corrupt and corrupting, did not Parliament, the source of power, the guardian of the Church, and the promoter of religion, arrest all decline and keep perforce the nation on its knees before God? Something is required to resist the progress of decay; will the State religion prevent its own overthrow? Here we meet a failure where success is imperative in order to prevent a collapse of the national life.

The century began with political disputes between the Whigs and Tories, and ecclesiastical hostilities between the Orthodox and Sectaries, or the Established Church and Dissenters. Under Queen Anne the politico-religious contest was exceedingly complicated from the fact that while the Tories sympathized with the national Church and controlled the pulpits of the country, the Whigs were in political power and controlled legislation.

In Parliament the Dissenters were in the majority, so that the national Churchmen were often rebuked and outvoted; in the national Church the Tories were in the majority, so that the Dissenters were crushed. In this mixed and apparently evenly-

balanced condition of affairs, a Tory clergyman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, assuming a fatal independence, ventured to preach a stirring sermon against the Dissenters, whereupon the Whig majority in the House of Commons silenced him for three years. The agitation thus precipitated was unfavorable to calm religious inquiry, and disastrous to the hitherto unbroken power of the Church. In so far as it was a conflict between the Established Church and Parliament, or between politics and religion, politics triumphed. In so far as it was a conflict between Nationalists and Dissenters, the latter triumphed. In both cases the popular result was an effective blow at the national Church; but the decline of the national Church was the decline of the national religion. This conflict did not terminate with Queen Anne's reign, but was intensified by the sympathy of George I., of the House of Hanover, with the Whigs, or dissenting classes. The new king was a Lutheran in faith, and, caring little for the Church of England, the Whigs found in him an unexpected and influential ally, and used him to their advantage and to the widening of the gulf between the two religious classes of the realm. In time so wide became the gap between the Orthodox and Sectaries, as Mosheim calls them, that the Dissenters made a bold dash for liberty, but, advancing heroically, they were not entirely successful. Dr. Benjamin Hoadley bravely introduced a new controversy by preaching a sermon on Christ's kingdom, in which he maintained that the Church should be free from the State; he virtually declared for disestablishment, but it did not prevail. That such a doctrine could be preached in safety one hundred and fifty years ago was a sign of the times and a warning to the national Church, which, however, it did not heed. At the same time an attempt was made to relieve the Dissenters of all religious tests, a just movement intended to put them on an equality with the Churchmen; it was only partially successful, for while the test oath was annulled, the sacramental oath, quite as odious, remained.

The result of these controversies was, on the whole, advantageous to free religion, but it must be understood that they were in spirit rather political than religious. Religion was secondary; there were no more prayers offered, no more souls converted, during the exciting contests than before. Religion

may have gained certain political rights, but politics gained nothing from religion. The spirituality of the people steadily declined with the assertion of political rights, and the extension of religious privileges. The outcome was not redemptive.

To the Church itself, then, let us go in search of religion. If it cannot be found among the philosophers, in the social aristocracies, or in parliament or politics, surely the Church itself will be true to its character, and reflect the image and excellences of Christ. If disappointed here, then we shall be ready to crave the advent of reformers.

Let us not be over-sanguine of a favorable discovery. To estimate the religious condition of England at this time, it must be remembered that, as we have shown, the public feeling was in a state of irreconciliation with religion, or of positive disloyalty to the Established Church, the keeper of the religious covenants. Philosophy, aristocracy, and royalty itself in some of its branches, combined in a peremptory warfare against religious ideas and the forms of worship. The aggravating feature of the opposition was its openly avowed infidelic purpose, and not infrequently its intense and contagious immoral character. What produced this state of things? Was religion responsible, in any degree, for the opposition that was raised against it? Is there any thing in religion calculated to provoke sedition? Was the Church immoral in conduct, defective in doctrinal teaching, unholy in its programme of living, giving occasion for infidelity to attack it, and the aristocracy to abandon it? Or did infidelity, atheism, and immorality exist in society, and finally corrupt and disintegrate the Church? A corrupt and immoral ministry, or an infidelic philosophy and corrupt aristocracy—which existed first? Which was antecedent? which consequent? Disregarding the order of the religious subsidence in England, certain it is that it was not the result of superficial or suddenly appearing causes; it was not hastily precipitated, but originated in a moral dissipation and coquetry with skeptical questionings which, imperceptible in influence at first, grew in force and acquired courage enough at last to demand the surrender of all that is vital in religion. The ethically unsound teachings and the gross immoralities of the aristocracies of the seventeenth century passed over into the eighteenth, without resistance or protest. Not even the

sturdy Puritanism of that day, which contested the claims of the Papal Church, stood out against the corrupt invasion of the previous century; in fact, it was vicious itself, and the Puritan Churches fell into both doctrinal and ethical decay. A catastrophe whose magnitude it is difficult to adequately estimate, now imperiled the whole Church; the Church itself was in the last stages of dissolution.

To understand the extent of the disaster inflicted by the hostile forces of infidelity and corruption without, and the disintegrating forces of indifference and immorality within, the Church, we append the statements of those who, either as observers or historians, were qualified to judge of conditions and results, and are known as trustworthy reporters of the same. "There is no such thing as religion in England," Montesquieu declared in 1730, and added, "If any one speaks about religion every body begins to laugh." Dr. Kirk reports that, according to the essayists of the period, "the moral virtues of the nation were at their last gasp." Both dissenting and national ministers agreed that "religion was dying in the world," and Christianity was interpreted as a huge fable. In these uncontradicted expressions are the proofs of a universal decline of respect for religious truth, and the positive reign of an immoral tendency in the public and private life of the people.

In the theater the most repulsive and shameless wit obtained; in the Church clergymen like Swift and Sterne indulged in indecent jesting. Among the poets Dryden, always vacillating in his religious affinities, gave respectability to vicious ballads; among the novelists Smollett and Fielding contributed to the general demoralization. Dr. Dobbin, of the Dublin University, may be quoted for the saying, that the Church and the world were alike asleep. Macaulay depicts the demoralization of the preceding age in a startling manner and with a marvelous fullness of immoral exposures; while William Massey states, that the depravity of England from George I. was not exceeded by that of the Roman Empire in the days of its decline. Thackeray confirms with specific accounts the appalling representation. Bishop Burnet declares that "the clergy (of the Established Church) were under more contempt than those of any other Church in Europe." Watts, seeing deeper than others, states that "there was a general

decay of vital religion in the hearts and lives of men;" and another re-echoes the same truth by saying that "the Spirit of God has so far departed from the nation that hereby almost all vital religion is lost out of the world." Dr. Guire's testimony is, that "Christianity is ridiculed and railed at with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all." Stronger than this is the declaration of Bishop Butler: "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a *subject of inquiry*, but that now at length it is discovered to be fictitious;" and respecting the clergy, Southey remarks, that they "had lost that authority which may always command at least the appearance of respect."

Such is the concurrent testimony of the ablest divines, and the most reliable writers of the period, revealing a melancholy condition of society, and the triumph of skepticism and immorality in the nation. The sum of it is, that Christianity is a fiction, the clergymen are in contempt, spirituality is unknown, vice is on the throne, and religion in any form has departed. The Church is dead.

Was the age altogether insensible to its rottenness? Was nothing done to check the sway of irreligion? Certain periodicals, the "Spectator," the "Rambler," and the "Tattler," were established by Addison, Steele, and Samuel Johnson, which aimed volleys of criticism at the follies of the day and exposed immoralities without plainly denouncing them. Besides, the criticisms were in the form of essays, sometimes too elegantly written, or too pregnant with obstructions to engage the public mind, and when clear-cut and retributive in spirit, they neutralized their effect by wit and apology. It must be remembered, too, that these publications were not specifically religious, nor established in the interest of the Church. They were useful in calling attention to existing evils, but suggested no adequate remedy and initiated no suppressive influence.

What were the clergy doing during these days of decay? Some of them were reading the sermons that Dr. Samuel Johnson had written for them; all of them, abandoning the doctrines of the Reformation, were preaching—when they preached, which was not often—the doctrines of natural religion. Revealed religion the pulpit discarded; piety it did not

encourage; immorality it condoned. Apologetically, Mosheim says the clergy of the Establishment *sunk into lukewarmness*, and represents that they were concerned for the Church and not religion. For incomplete statements, distorted facts, and unfair inferences, commend us to Mosheim; but for full, frank, courageous representations of the irreligious Establishment, we must look elsewhere. Under George I. the atheistic attacks on religion were repelled, he says, by Waterland, Foster, and other able theologians; that William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote against Bolingbroke, and that Campbell and Adams replied to Hume. Accepting his statement, they prove that God was not without witnesses in the midst of the civilized heathenism of England; but he does not, he cannot, contradict the concurrent testimony of the writers given in a previous paragraph, that the Church was spiritless, religion had vanished from the nation, and infidelity and immorality, joined together in purpose, were sharing the profits of victory in the decadence of the empire. Isaac Taylor says, England had lapsed into virtual heathenism when (in 1740) Wesley appeared.

As when Christ was manifested the Roman world was corrupt, degenerate, "dead in trespasses and sins," so England, apostatized, infidelic, and immoral, was in need of a reformer, a teacher, a helper. England was ripe for a religious revolution. Come it must; it was the only thing that could come. If the way is not open for a reformer—if John Wesley was not raised up to save England to the Church and religion to England—the doctrine of providential interposition in behalf of the Church has no illustration in human history. The non-religious period, with its moral defalcations, inferiorities, and crudities, is succeeded after severe trials and struggles by a period of religious development and resplendent spiritual conquests.

The consideration of this auspicious period in England's history, with its central figures and industrial spirit, is now in order. England's need was a second reformation. It had put away the first; it must return or begin anew. In Oxford University were a few young men who, enthusiastically grieving over the moral anarchy of society, determined upon personal reform, so far as they were concerned, and began at once a serious study of the Bible; but they were ridiculed and were called in derision *Bible-moths*. One of these young men, John Wesley,

always courageous when opposed, saw at a glance what was first needed, namely, a revival of religion in the Established Church. Of that Church he was an unconverted member, but he was disturbed by what he saw without, and even more by what he recognized within, its pale. In the incipient state of his religious purpose there was no idea of organizing a new movement, or founding an independent Church. The old Church was good enough in doctrine, strong enough in mechanical form, and numerous enough in its adherents, if it only had religious life, to accomplish the needed revolution; but he soon found that the Church had no desire for religion and had repudiated common morality. The fire burned in his bones and he could not rest. The Gospel, believed or rejected, must be preached in the Church or out of it, for the Church or against it; and so commenced the struggle between a pure evangelism and a base apostasy; between revealed religion and natural religion; between holiness and sin.

Not for some time did Wesley appear like the nucleus of a great providential movement; his preaching was that of one man, and yet it proved to be the call of another Elijah to the nation. Laborers gathered about him; preachers multiplied; revivals, akin to those of apostolic times, burst out in unexpected places, and triumphed over all opposition; hundreds and thousands were converted; and the old Established Church became alarmed. In a spirit of infuriated jealousy, and with the strength of a lion, it determined to crush the supernatural signs and preserve itself from crumbling into dust. This hostility alone proves the old Church destitute of godliness, exposes the spirit of cruelty that animated it, reveals its deep-seated hypocrisy in all its shameless phases, and justifies the evangelistic work of Mr. Wesley. An Episcopalian, as Mr. Wesley was and always was, the pulpits of his own Church were denied him, and he was compelled to preach in the open air, or in barns and mines, or in the homes of the people. This, however, proved to be providential, for he was heard by the multitudes, and a great awakening was the result. As if to put a sudden stop to the spread of religion, Wesley and his preachers were often arrested as disturbers of the peace, many of them were fined, some were imprisoned, and Wesley himself was stoned. In spite of these obstructions revivals continued

and the word of God prevailed; churches were built; heroic workers increased daily; and the prospect of an independent Church dawned upon the national mind. The common classes were easily reached and impressed; the aristocracies were invaded and captures were not infrequent; royalty itself heard the thunder of the Gospel and trembled, or felt the cold wave of condemnation and shivered. Lady Huntingdon was raised up to assist with her influence and patronage in the evangelization of England, and she personally led many lords and nobles with their families to the Lord Jesus Christ. What shall be said of Whitefield, Fletcher, Romaine, and the eccentric Berridge, and William Grimshaw, and Madan, and Maxwell, and Nelson, and a host of co-workers raised up to proclaim the Gospel and save the nation?

Evangelists rapidly increasing, and defections from the Established Church daily occurring, it was not long before England, cold, impassive, and steeped in immorality, was aroused, presenting in the great moral agitation which irresistibly prevailed a striking contrast with its former debased and spiritless condition. The religious movement, emerging from an obscure beginning, developed with wonderful rapidity, its chief aim being the restoration of religion to the nation. In no sense was it an attempt on the part of its conductors or instruments to revive ecclesiasticism, of which the nation had had enough; but its purpose was to re-instate the reign and authority of religion. Singularly, the public desire for the restoration of the religious idea became soon as intense as it had been for its abrogation or dethronement; the movement, too, took a spontaneous character, and was wanting in precise ecclesiastical methods, which, exciting the wrath of the old Church dignitaries, proceeded in its work of conquest until its triumph was proclaimed. In this unmethodical uprising there is little sign of human calculation; it bears the mark of a divine development, which neither legislation nor persecution could resist or overcome. All England is aroused, spontaneously aroused, divinely quickened, and the nation is saved.

If we should confine this moral and pervading agitation to Wesley and his followers, or to dissentients alone, we should overlook the magnitude of God's work and do injustice to many honored instruments in its success. Standing in the foreground

is John Wesley; he is the central figure of the revolution; in him is the spirit of leadership; and without him the religious movement had waned, and perhaps had utterly failed. At the same time the movement received augmenting force in the labors and sacrifices of others, both of the same and a different faith, which deserve recognition. Even in the national Church were those who quaked with fear and studied the solemn signs of revival with an apprehension that it was from God.

In the general, however, the authorities of the old Church, the archbishops principally, regarded the propagation of the Gospel by other than their own methods as a usurpation of their rights, and so they lent small favor to the regenerating attempt of the Wesleys.

In the course of events it came to pass that this great religious uprising, somewhat miscellaneous in character, and without ecclesiastical order, must centralize itself under special leaders, and assume for its own preservation a distinct name. Opposed by the old Church, the uprising was felt within its bounds; extending itself beyond the Church, it was receiving the warmest welcome; and it was natural that to all observers it should appear as an outside and independent movement. Had the old Church embraced it, sanctioning at least its spirit, and confining it within its own realm, it had been known in history as a revival within the Church, but sanction being withheld it is known as an outside, or the Methodistic, revival of the eighteenth century. It was thrust out; the old Church expelled it as it would a traitorous spirit; and it necessarily organized itself into an independent movement.

By virtue of its organic independence, however, it invoked the more demonstrative opposition of the Church Establishment, which determined upon its extinction. In its incipient or sporadic stages, ridicule was the weapon employed against it; but as it advanced in popular favor, silencing somewhat the menacing criticisms of the authorities, social ostracism and condemnation were turned against it; and when assuming independence it stood alone, legislation and the national spirit combined for its overthrow. The existence of a new Church organism, exhibiting a superior religious character, and aiming at specific religious ends, was regarded by the formal worshipers of the Establishment as a menace, as a disloyal

organization whose suppression by law would be justified. In vain, however, the restrictive legislation of statesmen; in vain the upbraiding fulminations of the arch-episcopal boards; in vain the critical appeals of the old pulpits: God was in the movement, the nation needed it, and it thrived in proportion as it was opposed until it regenerated the nation, silenced infidelity, and stanched the floods of immorality.

But Wesleyanism, having suffered from without, was now exposed to trial from within, which threatened serious disaster, but which proved to be the providential means of its purification and stability. Since its assumption of a definite form or organization, it had maintained the appearance of unity, notwithstanding the assaults from the national ecclesiastics; it had but one heart, one purpose, and, finally, one method; and unified in every particular, it awakened England. The spirit of doctrinal difference now sprang up in the midst, leading to division, if not to formal schisms, though happily not to decay or destruction. Without portraying at length the causes of division, it is sufficient to note that Mr. Wesley was a strict Arminian in the interpretation of the Scriptures, while Mr. Whitefield, although a Methodist in spirit, purpose, and influence, was a Calvinist, as respects the doctrine of predestination. On this rock the close and mutually helpful friendship of the two leaders was partially shattered. Mr. Whitefield became known as a "Calvinistic Methodist," the name being applied to a sect which immediately organized and arrayed itself against the more powerful organization of Mr. Wesley. The announcement of the theological difference of the two parties was the beginning of the controversial period of Methodism in England, which continued with alternating results until the close of the life and labors of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Whitefield was eloquent and forcible, and espousing Calvinistic tenets, it gave him for the time an extensive influence among the Presbyterians, whom he excited to a holy living and a more earnest piety. Lady Huntingdon, with her vast social prestige, withdrew from the Wesleyan movement, establishing one of her own, and cooperating to some extent with Mr. Whitefield, with whom she sympathized in his departure from Wesley; and so unfriendly did Wesley and Lady Huntingdon become, because of their doctrinal separation, that they did not meet in twenty years.

But this Calvinistic Methodism, unnatural and self-contradictory as it was, and dividing the Wesleyan movement as it did, was short lived, while Wesleyanism held the field, all the stronger since its doctrinal life had been tested and preserved. New conflicts, however, awaited it for which it seemed prepared. There arose, as a mere speck in the sky, a form of religion known as Moravian Methodism, which delighted in discipline, in excessive zeal, and indulged in so many objectionable teachings and practices that neither Wesley nor Whitefield could countenance it. We only notice it in passing as it appears on the page of history, for it was not specially obstructive of the Wesleyan movement; it needed guidance more than repression. During this controversial period of Methodism, resulting in an examination of what it taught and proposed to accomplish, other Churches partook of the same spirit, so that it became a controversial age, finally involving all the Churches of the kingdom.

In addition to the usual errors, Arianism and Socinianism, which had to be combated; Swedenborgianism, Shakerism, and Universalism disputed the Church's progress, and only yielded after it became evident that further resistance was useless. In Scotland there was a secession under the leadership of Mr. Glass from the Presbyterian Church, giving rise to the Congregationalists, who rapidly increased in England. The Baptists, under Mr. Whiston, announcing immersion as the only mode of baptism, boasted of not inconsiderable successes; while Francis Blackburne, a clergyman of the Establishment, attacked the idea of a religious creed, which was a thunderbolt aimed at the Thirty-nine Articles. Every Church had a struggle within itself, and was engaged in a war with the errors outside. This controversial period, somewhat rancorous and divisive in spirit, was not without valuable fruits, and during its continuance the Church advanced throughout the kingdom. It was an age of inquiry; controversy promoted investigation; investigation undermined error and established the truth. Painful as were the causes which originated Calvinistic Methodism, it is historically accurate to say that it had a mission which Wesleyan Methodism alone might not have accomplished. While the latter was resisted by the national Church, the former, by its affiliating tenets, captured some of its best men.

Berridge, Toplady, Talbot, Newton, Venn, Romaine, and a host of others were influenced by the movement under Whitefield; and as the result of that movement the Low-Church party in the Church of England took its rise. Methodism, by its controversial division, effectually divided the old Church, an end which Wesley did not contemplate. By this division Christianity on its spiritual side found way to the heart of the old Establishment, and extended itself among the lords and nobles of the land, insuring a conciliatory spirit and a wholesome moral tone where before neither existed. Religion flourished again in the Church, and certainly was progressing outside of it.

That these controversies were not as obstructive of the progress of Christianity as controversies sometimes have been, may be explained by the fact that they were in no wise political. These were not Whig and Tory contests. Parliament could not decide doctrinal differences, and ceased to legislate respecting them. The contest as a whole was religious; it was not a warfare over forms, or a dispute over church government, but an inquiry concerning the truth, or an interpretation of the Bible, which more than any thing else, England, in the later years of the period, needed. The first purpose of Wesleyanism was the revival of spirituality, which was secured by prayer, repentance, and faith; the second object was the revival of pure doctrine, which was secured by controversy. What the spiritual revival failed to accomplish the doctrinal revival aided to secure; the revival itself was spiritual, the sequel of the revival was doctrinal; and so having given to England both spirituality and doctrinal intelligence, it left the kingdom at the close of Mr. Wesley's life in a condition far better than he found it. In the first period of the century religion was a quiescent force—the Church was shrouded in forms, the ministry were corrupt and immoral; revealed religion had small place in the hearts of the people; formalism, apostasy, vice, infidelity, atheism, and all their bitter fruits of disorder, wretchedness, and social disintegration, prevailed throughout the kingdom, contaminating parliament, corrupting the aristocracies, and loading society with the woes and miseries of general demoralization. With Wesley's advent a change was inaugurated which culminated in a moral revolution in the history of England. Religion's voice was heard again in the land; the

Church was born again; the ministry sought a genuine Christian experience; revealed truth was preached as the all-vital source of salvation; infidelity was confined to books; formalism was superseded by piety; and vice literally surrendered to the popular demand for righteousness. With all the drawbacks to a progressive religious movement in the eighteenth century, it may be said that England owes its regeneration in that century to the activity of the Wesleyan reformation and its associate forces.

After fifty years of earnest Christian work—after the struggles and successes of half a century—the great leader, John Wesley, dies, and we are at once confronted with the new and last era of the eighteenth century. From 1791 to 1800, the short period of nine years, we see England under the influence of a different spirit, and again in the greatest moral danger.

The third period is the anti-religious, or post-Wesleyan, period in England's history. The French Revolution, aiming at the subversion of monarchical principles, was in progress and enlisted popular attention throughout Europe. England was soon affected by it. It at once disturbed her political quietude, turning the public mind from religion to politics, and finally absorbed the thought of the nation. Even the ministry engaged in pulpit discussions of the principles of the Revolution, exciting the people more and more with each succeeding discussion. Many dissenting clergymen and a few Churchmen hailed the revolution as the omen of good to the continent, and likewise to the world, and supported it, although it was antagonistic to English absolutism. At the same time the recent triumph of democratic principles in America had scarcely less effect in England in leading people to consider the propriety of the introduction of democratic ideas among themselves. The government was alarmed, for revolution was imminent.

A still more threatening influence visited England, attacking especially its moral basis and its religious life. At that time Thomas Paine was the most popular man of the age. He was popular in the United States as a patriot, popular in France as a statesman, popular in England as a scholar, and while his fame was at its maximum he corrupted the nations with his infidelity. It took root in France and ended in the Revolution; it grew in England, and almost precipitated a crisis. We do

not witness the revival of infidelity and the subversion of religion throughout the kingdom, but we do see the power of infidelity over the higher classes, and the effect of the French Revolution on the lower classes. These two forces—the Revolution a political force, Infidelity a *quasi*-moral force—each antagonistic to the other, seemed for the time to suspend, or at the least quiet, the influence of the higher political and moral forces in existence in England, and as a consequence spiritual activity diminished, and the Church engaged in no new enterprises. It had the effect of temporarily turning the public attention from religion to irreligion, which was ominous of the disturbance of the religious foundations of society. Paineism had its successes, creating the expectation of a speedy return to irreligion. The period of suspense, however, was fortunately of limited duration; in its sober moments the nation had no thought of returning to infidelity or plunging into irreligion; it therefore survived all attacks, resisted the threatened invasion of the infidelic spirit, and closed the century firm in the faith, and resolute in its loyalty to God.

The century began under Queen Anne with a condensed denial of religious faith; it closed under George III. illumined by gospel truth and walking in the Lord's ways. Under the former, Church ministers were public functionaries who drew their salaries and made light of religion; under the latter, they were the messengers of God who defended the Gospel and preached Christ to all the people. Marvelous change! Who but God could have breathed into the ministry the Spirit of life? Who but the Head of the Church could have conducted the new movement through obstructions so many and embarrassing to its consummation in a religious revolution?

The lessons that may be drawn from the eighteenth century will close the presentation of this subject.

1. The duty of the ministry in times of spiritual degeneracy, formalism, and indifference in the Church, is clearly indicated by the occurrences of the century herein considered. Without enterprise, without spirituality, without moral heroism and enthusiasm in the ministry, there will be a declension of all that is vital in the religious life. In the absence of religious enthusiasm and aggressiveness in the Church, the ministry must assume the defense of the truth, and inspire the gospel spirit

in the followers of Christ. Whatever the condition of the Church, the ministry as leaders must be heroes, enthusiasts, reformers, and prophets of the Lord, pure in their hearts, blameless in their lives, ethically sound in their teachings, and altogether inspiring in their activities. A pure ministry insures a pure Church.

2. The combination of religion and politics, as objects of pursuit or participation by the ministry, cannot be justified, except in national emergencies. In the non-religious period of England's history the ministry were Tories or Whigs, and the contests were political rather than religious, in the midst of which religion disappeared. In the last period of the century political principles absorbed the attention of the ministry, and the nation descended perilously near to an anti-religious condition. Governmental affairs belong to statesmen; the affairs of Christ's kingdom belong to the ministry. Except in war or great calamities, the ministry should not depart from a strict adherence to their functions as spiritual leaders of the people.

This position justifies the additional remark, that in civilized countries there is no need of a National or Established Church. Under the English Establishment England was ruined; under a non-national but independent religious organization it was regenerated. Political Churchism, or State religions, cannot and should not be much longer maintained. Disestablishment is the demand of the hour.

3. The darkest periods of the Church are usually succeeded by great awakenings and reformations. It was so in the time of Jonah, who was commissioned to go to Nineveh and declare its destruction. That great city, whose cup of iniquity was nearly full, hearkening unto the prophet, turned unto the Lord and was saved. It was so in the time of Christ; the world itself was sunken in the depths of heathenism; then the Saviour appeared and the adversary for a time ceased his roaring. It was so in the time of Luther; the Roman Catholic Church was the nursery of vice and crime; then the light of the Reformation shone brightly on the darkness, and the people were saved. So was it in England when religion had almost expired and Wesley appeared. This teaches us that God will not suffer his Church to perish, but will revive it "in the midst of the years."

4. A maximum religious condition may be followed by reactions. Belief may be followed by infidelity. The dragon may be let loose after the millennium. But the reaction that follows religion is never as great as the reaction from infidelity; the ebbing tide is always followed by an incoming wave greater than the receding, so that there is perpetual gain amid the reactions of religion.

5. The Church may flourish in an apparently divided state. There is room for denominationalism in the world. In those nations where the denominational spirit is strong, Christianity thrives the most, as in the United States and England; while in nations where the Church is an organic unit, as in Roman Catholic countries, there is neither civil nor moral progress. Wesleyanism may have suffered temporarily by its divisions, but Christianity on the whole has not been embarrassed by them, but rather flourished under them. Organic unity among all the branches of the Christian Church is perhaps not desirable; mutual love among them, however, is possible.

6. In most cases the remedy for wide-spread apostasy is a new evangelical awakening. If existing religious institutions are unable to resist the advances of infidelity, or turn back the tide of immorality, then, in God's providence, the old must give way to the new, or the ruin becomes universal. On this principle we explain the Reformation and the rise of Methodism, and it will apply to the future. If the Christianity that is in custody of the Churches to-day will not save the nations, then it is probable that another religious organization will appear which will accomplish the tasks of the Gospel. This teaches us to be faithful.

7. The inspirer of all reformation is the Holy Spirit. In the central period of the eighteenth century, embracing fifty years, God's hand guided, and God's power preserved, the religion of the people. Without the supernatural presence, the spiritual illumination, and the directing supervision of the Church's everlasting Founder, religion is utterly vain, faith becomes a superstition, the ministry are without a mission, and the Church itself a lifeless form. Let it be ours to carry forward the purposes committed to us, to give redemption to the people and fill the world with the echoing joy of a universal salvation.

Art. IV.—RAILROADS AND CIVILIZATION.

Many persons now living well remember when railroads were unknown. Their possibility had dawned upon the American mind quite early in the century. In 1804 Cadwallader D. Colden, probably a grandson of the first Surveyor-General of the Colonies, and himself a civil engineer, said: "The time will come when, on tramways, loaded carriages will be propelled by horses at a speed of not less than six miles an hour." His words were prophetic. Twenty-five years later cars were propelled by steam at a speed of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour. The tramways came later, but they are now of world-wide use.

Within half a century from their origin, railroads became the chief, almost the only, means of transporting passengers and freight overland, for long distances, in all civilized countries, and now the existing railroads have a mileage of nearly three hundred thousand miles, a distance equal to eleven and a half times the circuit of the world.

It is not generally known by the present generation that strong opposition displayed itself in the beginning against the building of railroads. It arose, in large part, from unwarranted apprehensions that somehow the new departure would work injury to existing material or social interests. These fears were long since proved to have been entirely groundless, yet for the time they were as effective as though well founded. The objections urged were various and remarkable. As we consider them now, they appear frivolous and amusing.

By superseding horse-power to a large degree, it was urged that railroads would depreciate the value of horses and destroy the market for them. As a matter of fact, the exact reverse has resulted. Good horses were slow sale then at from $100 to $150 each. The same style of horses now readily command from $250 to $500 each. It is true that money had then a higher purchasing power than now, but the uses and the value of the horse are certainly not less, relatively, than they were a half-century ago.

The railroad has relieved the horse from road transportation of freight and passengers over long distances, leaving to him other and profitable work, in city and country, in hack and

dray and farm service. In these ways, and also for delivery wagons and pleasure driving, although steam-cars in our country are doing the work of forty million horses, still horses are in demand, and there are more than ten millions of them in profitable use. The horse has not been superseded. He is yet recognized as the noble and useful animal of the home and the farm, steadily increasing in value and in the public estimation.

It was objected, moreover, that railroads would injure the agricultural business of the country by rendering the oat crop valueless, for it was urged that as horses would be practically dispensed with, there would be no demand for horse-feed. The contrary has been proved true. Oats have steadily advanced until now, bringing nearly three times as much per bushel as formerly. It was further strenuously objected that the demand and the wages for daily labor would fall off should railroads become general. All know that this objection has been refuted by the facts.

A more serious, and as it has proved a better grounded, fear was, that the large amount of capital invested in railroads would combine to oppress and injure the people, by levying exorbitant rates of fares for freight and passenger transportation, and by becoming also a corrupting element in politics. This apprehension was pronounced idle, for it was argued, on the contrary, that competition would prevent extortion and would keep prices down to reasonable figures.

This argument was re-enforced by the obvious fact, that almost all the railroads first built were short and independent, and often competing, roads. Thus, from Albany to Schenectady, sixteen miles over "the incline," was one road; thence to Utica, seventy-five miles, was another; from Utica to Syracuse, fifty-two miles, another; thence to Auburn, twenty-six miles, and thence to Rochester and to Buffalo, were separate roads with distinct officers and rates. The same state of things was true of the earlier railroads in Ohio and in other parts of the country. But it did not long so continue. In a few years the New York Central had absorbed and consolidated all these short, separate roads under one, with a single direction. When it was feared or found that the local rates would be, or that they were, too high and oppressive, the Legislature limited

the price of passage on that road to two cents per mile for all distances. The price of freights was also alike limited.

To compete with the Central road, and to furnish the southern counties of New York and the northern counties of Pennsylvania railroad facilities, the Erie road was chartered and constructed. The work was begun in some sections by driving piles into the solid ground as a road-bed for the ties and rails. By this time, however, so controlling already had the railroad legislative lobby become, that it was found impossible to limit the fares to two cents per mile. They were fixed at three cents.

The Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other great trunk lines succeeded. Sharp and healthy competition, as would naturally be supposed, was expected. It has not been realized. On the contrary, parallel roads have combined, pooling expenses and receipts and drawing out pro rata amounts. Railroad legislation in the State and in the nation has, to a very large extent, been molded and directed by railroad lobbyists using money freely, and securing legislation not in the interests of the people, but of gigantic moneyed corporations. Railroad competition, so confidently predicted and so naturally expected, has not been realized. Instead, combination and monopoly have been the rule.

Railroads have wrought great changes in all our business lines, as well as in our social and moral condition as a people. These changes have been so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. They have been fifty years in coming. Since they began, a generation and a half have passed away. As might be supposed, those now living under middle age can hardly realize the number and significance of the changes so wrought. Let us consider some of them.

Railroads have changed the frontiers and practically destroyed them. All the great inland territory of the country is practically nearer the sea-boards, Atlantic and Pacific, than eastern Ohio and western New York and Pennsylvania were to the Atlantic half a century ago. The completion of four lines to the Pacific has made the East and the West one. Red River of the North with its fertile wheat belt, and Colorado with its silver and gold, and New Mexico and Arizona with their great mineral wealth, are no longer frontier regions. They are as cen-

tral points for all the purposes of commerce and travel as were Ohio or Illinois only a few years ago. Settlement and production have been stimulated by these multiplied transcontinental and other lines, until there is hardly any part of our wide domains, south of Alaska, which is not habitable and inhabited, tillable and tilled. The agricultural resources of the country have been augmented and developed to an incredible extent by these roads traversing all parts of our territory.

Railroads have developed our unpeopled territories to an astonishing extent. Twenty-five years ago the country from the Mississippi westward to the Sacramento was a wilderness, traversed by wild animals, Indians, and hunters. To-day it is almost a continuous settlement between those great rivers, and from the Mexican line to British Columbia, fourteen hundred miles away.

Railroads have facilitated, if indeed they have not largely caused, the amazing growth of large cities as centers of trade and business. The forwarding of produce, construction establishments for making and renewing the rolling stock of the roads, and large manufactories, assisted by means of transportation lines, have gathered and concentrated capital and population, creating populous cities, or largely augmenting those already existing. Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Omaha are examples of central and western cities owing their magnitude and their rapid growth to radiating or terminating railways. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are perhaps as much indebted to their inland railway lines as to their ocean lines for their commercial greatness and wealth. Whether this centralization of business and capital and population is better and safer than a more general distribution of them is a problem awaiting solution. Our large cities are most difficult factors in our republican institutions. They seriously menace our morality, safety, and civilization.

With the supersession of wagon and stage transportation of freight and passengers over long reaches and between far-distant points, turnpikes and stage lines have disappeared. In place of the taverns at the cross-roads and hamlets stands the saloon, a modern feature of our civilization, with its blinded doors and windows, so that its cruel and deadly work may proceed unseen and unhindered.

Distances between places and directions to places by wagon roads are becoming comparatively unknown, except within narrow areas. If one were traveling by private conveyance over the highways, and he were within a dozen miles of the place of destination, and he should inquire the distance and the route to it of half a dozen different persons, he would get no two answers alike, and the distances given would vary from five miles to twenty. The great thoroughfares of the earlier times, as the "Great Western Pike," the "Genesee Pike," the "Cumberland Road," and the "National Road," and the distances and courses of the places on them, were formerly very familiar, not only to dwellers upon them, but to persons in all parts of the country. All this is now entirely changed. Scarcely any persons travel by stage or hack, not many by private carriage.

The traveling by families, whether for longer or shorter distances, is now almost entirely by rail. This is true of nearly all excursion and pleasure traveling, and especially of all business travel. The railroad train is the commercial traveler's home for a large part of his time. Thousands of them are seen on all the great railway lines!

Railroads save much time and labor. A man has business to do in a place five hundred miles away. He goes, effects his errand, and returns within two days. By carriage or on horseback the trip would require twenty-five days of exhausting, wearisome travel. This great economy of time and nerve and muscle is certainly a most important and desirable change, and it is wonderfully affecting the settlement and improvement of our vast areas of lately unpeopled territories.

Before the iron horse was guided from the Mississippi to the Pacific, emigrants to that distant coast were six months in crossing the Plains, exposed, for all that time, to great hardship and peril. Now the trip is made with ease and even comfort in as many days; and, besides this, those distant regions are settled and improved. And what is the result? In 1850 the total white population of Oregon Territory was 13,294; in 1880 in the same area it was 341,842—an increase of twenty-five hundred per cent. in thirty years.

This saving of time and labor is not only of great pecuniary value, it also benefits the average American in other directions.

We are a restless, adventurous, migratory, pushing people. We cannot brook delay. We are intense, active, nervous. We must push. We cannot stop. We would not, if we could. All this is adapted to our characteristics. One of the first Americans who rode at a rate of sixty miles an hour was asked how he liked it. "Well," said he, "at first it was a little scarish, and I felt queerly; but I soon got used to it, and I said I didn't care if they run the darned machine a hundred miles an hour."

Railroads counteract and destroy sectionalism and exclusiveness. They bring the people of different and distant regions together. They obliterate State lines. They mitigate party and sectional prejudices. They promote unity and homogeneity. Practically, there is no East nor West, nor South nor North, in countries intersected by railroads. If trunk lines linking North and South together had been as numerous and as much traveled thirty years ago as the great East and West trunk lines are now, the late Civil War would have been impossible. Gradually, peacefully, and from natural causes, slavery would have expired, and the late "unpleasantness" would never have occurred. A late thoughtful writer forcibly says:

> Compared with the wealth of the country thirty years ago, railroads have created on this continent a new nation.
>
> The railroads while penetrating every portion of the continent, at least wherever our people go, for the first time create the conditions of a firm and compact nationality.*

Besides rendering the people non-sectional and homogeneous, the railroads broaden, liberalize, and assimilate a people. When they were first projected, it was urged against them that their tendency would be agrarian; "that the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar would all herd together, in the new mode of travel." This, however, if true, would not be an objection, but an excellence. Class and compartment cars have never been popular in this country. [But "Pullman's" are.—Ed.] They are un-American. Indeed, in the earlier railroad period, the plan of classifying passengers and passenger cars was fairly tried and given up.

Assimilation and grading up result from this promiscuous mingling of all sorts of passengers together. Object lessons of

* Poore's Manual of Railroads.

political oneness and of social equality are thus, all the time, effectively taught. Thus the grading is constantly upward. Human life, in various ways, amounts to much more in modern times than it did in the earlier times. We live longer in the same number of years than our predecessors lived. We live faster. We see more in the same time. We do more than our fathers did, more than we ourselves could accomplish but for the railroads. Achievements in gaining wealth, position, power, honors, and in propagating truth and error, are much more marked, rapid, and extensive under the new conditions than they were under the old, and every form of material civilization is heightened.

Progress in the rapid transmission and interchange of ideas has been largely accelerated by the railroad system. This is true also of telegraphy and the use of the telephone, as well as of the rapid transit of goods and persons. And evidently we are as yet only at the beginning of our achievements in this direction—yet but in the early dawn of rapid travel and transportation.

The railroad has wrought great moral and social changes. How different now the travel and the sojourn of the itinerant minister from those of the former period. His journeyings to and from Conference and over his assigned district or circuit are now made by rail, instead of by horseback or buggy, as in the ante-railroad period.

The old-time hospitality for man and beast to the weary itinerant, the familiar, godly, pastoral intercourse, the family worship conducted by the minister, the words of personal admonition, cheer, or encouragement spoken by the honored guest to each member of the family, and especially to the children—all this is a thing of the past, a vanishing picture. The same is largely true too of social and hospitable intercourse generally.

The railroad system has developed very rapidly, and it has now reached gigantic proportions. The total railroad mileage of the world is about 286,023 miles; or equal to eleven and a half times the distance around the world. In the eastern hemisphere there are 132,934 miles, distributed as follows:

Europe	112,388 miles.	Australia	6,008 miles.
Asia	11,155 "	Africa	3,382 "

In the western hemisphere there are 153,089 miles, distributed as follows:

United States.....	121,592 miles.	South America.....	4,849 miles.
Canada	15,778 "	Central America.....	2,385 "
Mexico	7,533 "	West Indies.....	952 "

The aggregate cost of all these railroads has been estimated at about $17,500,000,000. Allowing the cost per mile of building railroads to be about the same in all parts of the world, the average yearly sum expended in the construction of these roads for fifty years has been about $171,600,000, not far from half a million dollars a day.

The railroads of the United States are distributed over the whole Republic, stretching alike over populous and non-populous States and Territories, bringing the newest, more remote, and less populous regions into close relations with the older and more populous sections.

The distribution by groups gives the following results:

New England group: Six States—area, 66,375 square miles; population, 4,009,529; railroad mileage, 6,323; one mile of railroad to every 634 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to every $6\frac{3}{10}$ square miles of area.

Middle group: Six States—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia—area, 141,240 square miles; population, 12,186,986; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile to every 801 inhabitants; one mile to each $8\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of territory:

Southern group: Ten States—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky—area, 449,619 square miles; population, 12,348,858; railroad mileage, 17,582; one mile of railroad to every 654 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $20\frac{4}{10}$ square miles of area.

Western group: Thirteen States and two Territories—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Wyoming—area, 1,249,836 square miles; population, 21,269,601; mileage, 70,345; one mile of railroad to every 302 inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each $17\frac{1}{10}$ square miles of territory.

Pacific group: Three States and six Territories—California, Oregon, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Montana—area, 1,003,810 square miles; population, 1,540,320; railroad mileage, 7,486; one mile of railroad to each $205\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants; one mile of railroad to each 134 square miles.

A comparison of these groups is interesting and suggestive. In the New England group there are fewer miles of railroad than in any other group, while there is more railroad mileage to the square mile. Next to the New England group the Pacific group has the fewest miles of railroad, yet there is more railroad mileage to the population than in any other group. It is seen, here, that the mighty West, as usual, distances every other group in its number of States, in its population, and in its railroad mileage. The West is, and it is ever to be, the great body of this nation.

The capital invested in the railroads of the United States may be set down at $7,495,471,311, made up as follows:

Amount of share capital issued by the several companies,	$3,708,060,583
Funded debts of the several companies	3,455,040,383
Floating debts	332,370,345

This sum would equal $136 to each man, woman, and child in the nation. Many of the investments in railroads are unproductive.

A few years ago there was, in public estimation, no more inviting field for railroad enterprises than Colorado. A vast system of railroads, covering the whole State, was constructed with great rapidity, involving a nominal expenditure of nearly $100,000,000, almost the whole of which is unproductive.*

It is stated that—

Stocks and bonds to the amount of $530,132,000 were listed at the New York Stock Exchange in 1883. The amount of stocks and bonds listed was equivalent to about $80,000 per mile of new road built during the year. A considerable amount of the securities listed, however, was on account of old works.

In this immense increase of fictitious capital is to be found the cause of the general distrust which prevails, and the enormous decline in the price of railroad securities. From 1879 to 1883 a most singular delusion rested upon the public as to their value, and this delusion was taken advantage of on a large scale by able and unscrupulous adventurers. Whatever was manufactured and put afloat was seized with avidity by an eager and uninformed public. . . . The delusion culminated about the time of the opening of the Northern Pacific, in connection with which visionary schemes of immense magnitude had been put upon the market. Their worthlessness, and the rapid decline of their securities, exerted a powerful influence over the public mind, which continues unchecked to the time of this writing.

* Poore's Railroad Manual, 1884.

The distrust extends alike to good and bad, so that prices at the present time have as little reference to values as they had at the beginning of 1883. The distrust will continue until time shall show what securities are really well based.

The gross earnings of all the roads for their several fiscal years of 1883 were $823,772,924, an increase from the previous year of $53,563,025. Two eighths of these gross earnings were received from passengers, and upward of five eighths of them from freight. The net earnings of all the railroads in the United States in 1883 were $333,911,884, an increase of $21,461,082 from the previous year. The percentage of gross earnings to investment was 10.99 per cent.; percentage of net earnings was 4.49 per cent. upon nominal cost. The net earnings upon actual cost of the roads was about nine per cent.

During the years 1881–83 the annual increase of miles of railroad in the United States was 10,000 miles, costing about $30,000 per mile, involving an outlay of $300,000,000 a year, or $1,000,000 for each working day in the year. In wealth alone, the railroads of the country have created a new nation, as they have also in other respects.

In 1883 the railroads transported 400,000,000 tons of freight, the value of which, at $25 a ton, would equal $10,000,000,000.

In freight traffic the States range as follows, namely: The State of Pennsylvania is first, with a tonnage moved of 105,507,916, or more than one quarter of the total of the United States, and a tonnage moved one mile of 7,859,109,440, or more than one sixth of the total. New York comes second, with 50,372,817 and 6,040,404,413, respectively; Ohio third, with 43,065,926 and 5,969,378,057; Illinois fourth, with 35,472,611 and 5,266,273,900; New Jersey fifth, with 19,270,393 and 1,140,070,889; and Indiana sixth, with 18,506,607 and 2,625,042,677.

The number of passengers transported in 1883 on the railroads of the New England group of States, having a population of 4,009,529, was 72,377,566, a number 18 times as great as its whole population. The number transported in Massachusetts was 53,080,887, a number greater than for any other State; Pennsylvania comes next, with 49,970,774; New York third, with 43,734,962; Illinois fourth, with 25,116,732; New Jersey fifth, with 24,416,770; and Ohio sixth, with 21,096,833. The number transported in the middle group of States, having a population of 12,374,510, was 126,735,899 (which is exclusive of those carried on New York city elevated roads), a number about ten times its population. The number transported in the Southern group was 14,087,866, a number 2,500,000 greater than the present population of this group. The number transported in the Western and South-western group, having a population of 20,045,070, was 87,614,699, a number 4.4 times as great as its population; the low average for this group arises from embracing in it the comparatively undeveloped North-western and South-western States. The number transported in the Pacific

group, having a population of 1,480,272, was 11,870,626, a number more than eight times its population.

The number of passengers moved one mile in the New England group was 1,187,719,657, at a charge of 2.15 cents per mile; in the Middle States' group, 2,489,766,204, at a charge of 2.17 cents per mile; in the Southern group, 613,891,085, at a charge of 2.85 cents per mile; in the Western group, 3,834,082,895, at a charge of 2.56 cents per mile; in the Pacific group, 415,849,833, at a charge of 2.84 cents per mile. The total movement in all the roads equaled 8,541,309,674 persons moved one mile, at a charge of 2.42 cents per passenger per mile.*

The comparative safety of railway travel is shown by the following statistics, taken from the tenth census: Out of 269,583,340 passengers carried in 1883, 143 were killed, 60 by causes beyond their control, and 82 through their own carelessness. This ratio is as one person killed to every 1,885,000 persons traveling on the rail; and one person injured to every half-million passengers. The casualties fatal and non-fatal to employees are in much higher proportion. Out of 419,000 employees 260 were killed, or as one in 1,600; and 3,617 were injured, or as a little less than one per cent.

It would seem from this showing that the immunity from fatal accident in riding on the railroad is very great. It would appear almost safer to travel than to stay at home. The danger ratio of employees is much higher.

In the remaining part of this paper we may very properly examine the question: whether danger is to be apprehended to the material and moral interests of the people, to our civilization, to the public morals, and to the future peace and safety of the nation from the massing and wielding of such immense capital in our railroads? Freely conceding the great material and commercial benefits accruing to the world by means of the railroad, is danger to be feared to the liberties and welfare of the people? Great railroad combinations are formed; enormous accumulations of capital are gathered into few hands, and vast irresponsible power is created, threatening the property and business of individuals and of the millions of citizens.

Consider a few patent facts: The politics and the legislation of the country, both as to Territories, States, and the United States, are notoriously manipulated by railroad magnates, in

* Poore's Manual of Railroads, 1884.

the interest of grasping, soulless railroad corporations. Money and influence are skillfully and unscrupulously used to secure desired legislation. There has probably not been a territorial Legislature held in twenty years where legislation has not been procured more favorable to the railroad corporation than to the people represented in those Legislatures. All railroads will combine in seeking general or special railroad legislation, while only the people of a limited area will unite in opposing oppressive railroad legislation in that area.

The same is, doubtless, true as to State Legislatures and the election of State senators and representatives; and is it not equally and eminently true of Congressional elections, both to the Senate and the House? The scandals of the *Credit Mobilier* will not soon be forgotten. They smirched honored names. The aid rendered by Congress in loans to the Pacific railroads has been requited by systematic and persistent endeavor on the part of those corporations to evade payment of interest on those loans. Laws have been passed and processes instituted to secure the payment of those loans, which, up to this time, have been too successfully eluded.

The large quantities of public lands granted to great railroad monopolies have still further tended to reduce the resources of the people and lavish them upon grasping, bloated corporations. The vast amount of patronage and control these railroads have, by their nearly half a million dependent employees, largely augments their power to corrupt elections and to bribe lawmakers. A hundred and twenty thousand offices are said to be at the disposal of the President of the United States, and this has been cited as imperiling the purity of elections. Yet the families of 419,000 railroad employees in the United States are dependent upon the nod and beck of railroad magnates.

These railroads have the power to oppress the producers of the country by demanding and receiving extortionate rates for transporting passengers and freight upon local routes, and upon routes where competition does not prevent such extortion, and for short distances. Repeated instances have been cited, where all the transported article could possibly bear has been charged for freights. The oppression of employees, by compelling overwork and by scanty wages, is a liability which will require vigilant attention.

A more serious question remains to be considered, namely, the flagrant Sabbath desecration practiced by all the railroads, and the injury this must cause to public morals and to civil order and safety. Before preparing this article inquiries were addressed to leading officials of all the principal railroad companies, as follows, namely: "1. What number of employees are there on your roads? 2. What proportion of your business is done on the Sabbath day? 3. What proportion of your employees work on the Sabbath day?" Of the Pennsylvania Central Railway Company, this additional question was asked, namely: "What damage and what loss of life resulted to your roads during your railway strike a few years ago?" This question has not been answered. The following answers have been received, namely:

From J. H. Rutter, Esq., President New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company:

> We employ about 15,000 men. Probably not one half of our usual daily business is done on the Sabbath day. We run through passenger trains and through freight trains on Sunday; but not as many on Sundays as on week days. Your third question I cannot answer, except approximately. I should say not one half of the employees work on the Sabbath day—very likely, not one third.

From Charles Paine, Esq., General Superintendent of the New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and of the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company, this answer has been given:

> I do not find any statistics which would enable me to answer the questions you propose, or I would take pleasure in giving you the desired information.

S. R. Callaway, Esq., General Manager of the Union Pacific Railway, responds:

> Upon the Union Pacific Railway and its controlled lines, about 20,000 men are employed. I cannot tell you what proportion work on the Sabbath day. But we endeavor to limit Sunday work as much as possible upon a line of its length.

These are substantially all the answers received from a dozen or fifteen letters. The officials were obviously disinclined, if they were able, to give the information sought. This is probably all the light obtainable from these sources. But it is noto

rious that much passenger and freight work is done on the Sabbath day by all the railroads.

The effect is injurious in several ways. 1. To all the people living upon or near railroads, where the steam whistle and the rushing train flagrantly defy the Sabbath law, and accustom aged and young alike to become familiar with open defiance of divine and human law, general laxity of morals must ensue. 2. The injury to railroad employees is more direct and deadly. Thousands of railroad employees know no Sabbath from one year's end to another. On all the railroads in North America there are 600,000 employees. If we take President Rutter's average—one third—we have 200,000 men who are required to violate God's law and the civil law as well, and to live without the Sabbath. Can words measure the inevitable demoralization which must ensue? Most properly and commendably the railroad employees are required to be sober men. Should they not also be prevented from becoming morally irresponsible? Is it surprising that men compelled habitually to be immoral should become communists and nihilists, and on occasion should raise the red flag, and should waste and destroy? If railroad corporations thus sow to the wind, the whirlwind of disaster will not be far behind. Can corporations more than individuals violate moral law with impunity?

It may be said that to stop railroad travel on Sunday would work a hardship to travelers. To forbid secular business and work on the Sabbath, as the civil law does, to the non-traveling public, may be inconvenient to all those who do not care for the Sabbath, but should Sabbath laws be therefore abrogated and the civil Sabbath be abolished?

It is urged that it is wasteful of perishable freights to delay them by stopping Sunday trains. Then, let them be started on Monday rather than on Saturday or Sunday. It is also urged that live freight should be hurried through in kindness to the animals transported, and that to delay cattle trains, by non-Sunday travel, would be cruelty to animals. In some of the States the law requires railroads not to keep the cattle in cars beyond thirty-six hours. It would be humane to require all cattle trains to lie over for feeding and rest on the Sabbath. That to enforce non-Sunday travel and freighting on railroads would cost something, is admitted; but the present moral gain

and, in the long run, the future material gain would far outmeasure the loss.

The interest of the railroads imperatively demands the suspension of this Sunday violation. Public morals, public safety and order demand that this flagrant Sabbath desecration should cease. It should be done, peacefully and without compulsion, as a measure of supreme importance to the railroad corporations and to the public welfare. If it be not done voluntarily, and by the voice of a healthy public sentiment, it will come after loss and riot and waste of life and great public disaster; but it were far better to have it come by peaceful and moral means than by reaction after wide-spread ruin.

If slavery had been peacefully abolished, even though it had cost many thousand millions to pay for the slaves, the far greater loss of life and property wasted by war would have been avoided. Railroads, publicists, legislators, and voters will do well to heed the teachings of history, which enforce religious morality as the foundation of civil order and civil liberty.

Art. V.—RECENT CHECKS TO MODERN UNBELIEF.*

Part II.—Critical.

It is generally and confidently acknowledged by the highest authorities of the school of modern critical unbelief that there are certain books in the New Testament which are unquestionably genuine. Such men as Baur and Strauss, Renan and the author of "Supernatural Religion," for example, agree in accepting Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and the Apocalypse as books incontestably genuine and authentic. That is, these representative leaders of modern learned unbelief agree with catholic Christians in holding fast by the unquestionable genuineness of about one fourth of the New Testament, and that, a fourth containing over and over again all the essential facts and doctrines of the Gospel. In regard to the remaining books of the New Testament, the position originally taken up by Baur and his more immediate followers was, that

* "Some Recent Checks and Reverses Sustained by Modern Unbelief." By Rev. Alexander Mair, D.D. "The Monthly Interpreter" (Edinburgh), Feb., 1885.

they were composed far on in the second century, and mainly between A. D. 130 and 170.

It is a well-known fact that of late years many previously unknown manuscripts of valuable ancient books have been discovered throughout the libraries and convents of the south and east. It is most important and strengthening to our faith to know that these discoveries tend decidedly to confirm the catholic view in regard to the date of the New Testament books, namely, that they were all written within the apostolic age. We will now adduce a few illustrations of this statement.

We begin with the so-called "Epistle of Barnabas," which was written about A. D. 120. Until 1859 it was known only in an imperfect form, the first four and a half chapters being extant in Latin but not in the original Greek. At the close of the fourth chapter it contains these words, "as it is written, Many are called, few chosen." The expression here quoted is found nowhere in ancient sacred literature except Matt. xxii, 14.* Hence the conclusion was naturally drawn that this was a quotation from Matthew, and that the quotation was made as if it was acknowledged Scripture. But the unbelieving school, in effect, replied, "No. This is only the Latin translation. The quotation was very likely inserted by the translator, who was some biased Christian. If we only had the original Greek, we should find that it is not there." Well, two original Greek copies have now been discovered, one by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai in 1859, and another more lately at Constantinople by Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia. And what is the result? The old Latin version is absolutely correct; for the quotation is found in the original Greek almost exactly as in Matthew. The conclusion from this is obvious; the Gospel of Matthew was already written and apparently acknowledged as Scripture. It is noteworthy that the author of "Supernatural Religion" still endeavors to wriggle out of the iron grasp of the necessary inference. In a way which must fill many readers with amazement, if not with something worse, he still struggles to show that it is not a quotation from Matthew at all, but from 2 (4) Esdras viii, 3: "There be many created, but few shall be saved." Surely comment is unneces-

* It is also found, of course, in the *Textus Receptus* in Matt. xx, 16; but there it is probably not genuine. [Westcott and Hert insert it in the margin.]

sary. The discovery of the Greek copies of Barnabas settles the question on the side of the catholic view, as even Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, most cordially admits.*

In the year 1842 there was discovered at Mount Athos a copy of the long-lost work of Hippolytus, "The Refutation of all Heresies." The author lived at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third. This discovery has proved one of the first importance for various reasons, and very especially for the references or quotations therein given from the works or teaching of the ancient heretics. Now it is well known that Baur regarded the Gospel of John as written about A. D. 160–170. But what do we learn from Hippolytus? He deals at length with the heresy of Basilides, who flourished about A. D. 125, and he tells us that this heresiarch fell back on the gospels, specially including John, for support to his views. He writes: "And this, he [Basilides] says, is that which has been stated in the gospels; He 'was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'"† This quotation is unquestionably from John i, 9, and it is scarcely less questionable that according to the laws of Greek grammar Hippolytus puts the quotation into the mouth of Basilides, and even seems to quote from a book of his which he has in his eye. In other words, John was not written after A. D. 160, as Baur holds, but before the time of Basilides; that is, before A. D. 125. It may be noticed, also, that Basilides refers in the above quotation to "the gospels," and uses them as being of acknowledged authority.

The so-called "Clementine Homilies" played a most important part in the hands of Baur and his immediate followers, in the contest as to the dates of the New Testament books. Down to 1853, it will be remembered, these Homilies existed only in an imperfect copy which stopped short in the middle of Homily xix, chap. 14; eleven chapters and a half of Homily xix, and the whole of Homily xx being lost. The date of their

* Hilgenfeld holds that Barnabas was written in A. D. 97, and that the reference proves, "das ein Evangelium, sei es nun das des Matthäus selbst oder ein demselben verwandtes, schon gottesdienstlich gebraucht, als heilige Schrift angesehen ward."—*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 38.

† "Refutation of all Heresies," book vii, 22. For English, see Clark's Translation, vol. i, p. 276; and for Greek, Charteris, "Canonicity," p. 173.

composition is assigned to the middle of the second century, or a little later, say about A. D. 160.

We restrict our attention at present solely to the bearing of the Homilies on the Gospel of John. Baur contended that they contained no proof of the existence of the fourth gospel at the date of their composition. It is true that even in the imperfect edition we have quotations or reminiscences from John, which seem unmistakable to the ordinary reader, and which, if they occurred in any modern author, would be unhesitatingly referred to the fourth gospel. We read in Homily iii, chap. 52, these words: "Wherefore he [Christ], being the true prophet, said, I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me entereth into life," a passage which can scarcely fail to recall John x, 9, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." In the same chapter of Homily iii we further read: "Wherefore also he cried and said, . . . My sheep hear my voice," an expression which seems obviously quoted from John x, 27, "My sheep hear my voice." What makes it still more likely that these quotations are taken from John is the fact that they are both found in the same chapter of the Homilies, and correspond to passages in the same chapter of the fourth gospel, a circumstance most naturally accounted for by the theory of actual quotation. Once more, the old and imperfect edition of the Homilies contains, in Homily xi, chap. 26, the statement, "For thus the Prophet has sworn to us, saying, Verily I say to you, unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," a passage which naturally appears to contain a free but undoubted reference to John iii, 5, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Such were the references to John in the older edition of the Homilies, and yet Baur and his followers, like the author of "Supernatural Religion," could hold that they contained no proof of the existence of that gospel, and therefore it did not exist, or just came into existence, at the time when the Homilies were written. Consequently John could not have been written before A. D. 160, the approximate date of the Homilies.

But we now have the "Clementine Homilies" entire in Greek. In the year 1853 Dressel published a complete edition

from a manuscript which he had found in the Ottobonian Library in the Vatican. Now it so happens that the new and concluding fragment contains testimony of the utmost importance. For one thing, it settles that the author of the Homilies knew and used Mark, which had been doubtful up to that date. But it also settles to all reasonable minds the fact of the previous existence and the use of John. In the portion discovered by Dressel we have the following passage in Homily xix, chap. 22, "Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of him in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing sins of ignorance."* This passage is obviously a free but real quotation from John ix, 1–3: "And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." So obvious is the quotation that the controversy may now be regarded as settled in the estimation of reasonable men. Hilgenfeld, the present head of the dying Tübingen school, at once acknowledged the question as finally closed.† "Volkmar admitted and admits that the fact of the use of the gospel must be considered as proved. The author of "Supernatural Religion" stands alone in still resisting this conviction, but the result, I suspect, will be only to show in stronger relief the one-sidedness of his critical method."‡

We now come to another interesting and most important point. It is well known that Tatian, the Assyrian, who flourished about A. D. 150–170, and of whom we possess one work, his Address to the Greeks, was the author of another work called the "Diatessaron." The testimony of antiquity is so uniform and distinct that thus far there never could be any

* For the Greek of the quotations from the Homilies, see Charteris, "Canonicity," pp. 184, *f.*; or Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," pp. 287, *ff.* The English given above is from Clark's Translation.

† "Einleitung," p. 43, *f.*, note.

‡ Sanday, "The Gospels in the Second Century," p. 288.

reasonable doubt. This "Diatessaron," as the name naturally implies, is declared by ancient writers to have been a Harmony of the four gospels. The importance attached to this fact by catholic scholars and critics on the one hand, and by Baur and his school on the other, was naturally very great. If, as catholic critics generally held, it was a veritable Harmony, it was a clear proof that at the time when it was constructed, and of course long previously, four gospels were regarded as occupying a position quite distinct, approaching to what we call canonical. Further, critics of this class naturally considered that these gospels must have been the present four. But if so, then John must have been received in the time of Tatian as genuine, so that it could not possibly have seen the light only so late as A.D. 160, or even later, as Baur's school maintained. It was therefore of the utmost importance for this school to undermine the argument of the catholic critics by showing that the "Diatessaron" was no Harmony whatever of the four canonical gospels. The English reader may see how this is attempted by the author of "Supernatural Religion" in his second volume (pp. 152, *ff.*). He makes statements like the following: "There is no authority for saying that Tatian's gospel was a Harmony of four gospels at all." "No one seems to have seen Tatian's Harmony, for the very good reason that there was no such work." And again: "It is obvious that there is no evidence whatever connecting Tatian's gospel with those in our canon." *

The question, however, seems of late to have been finally settled to the utter discomfiture of the school of Baur, and the complete demonstration of the perfect correctness of the traditional view. According to the testimony of antiquity, Ephraem the Syrian wrote a commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. The commentary was regarded as hopelessly lost until lately, when an Armenian translation of it was found in the library of the Mechitarist monks, in the island of S. Lazzaro at Venice. This translation was published in Latin in 1876 by Professor Mösinger of Salzburg.† Now, Professor Zahn of

* "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 158, 160, 161.

† The title is: "Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephraemo, in Latinum translata a J. B. Aucher, Mechitarista, cujus versionem emendavit, annotationibus illustravit et edidit G. Moesinger, Venetiis," etc., 1876.

Erlangen has lately subjected this ancient commentary to a most thorough-going criticism and treatment, and that with the most interesting and astonishing results. It turns out actually to be Ephraem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. We therefore now know exactly what was the nature of Tatian's famous work. And what is the result? It is found to be a consecutive gospel narrative constructed out of a blending of our four canonical gospels on a somewhat free principle. And Tatian uses John the most extensively of all the gospels, and adopts the chronology of that gospel as the frame-work of his Harmony. "It may be observed that a difference is so far made between the evangelists that the text of St. John is almost completely adopted, perhaps with the sole exception of chapter iv, 46–54; next in completeness comes that of St. Matthew, while St. Luke and St. Mark are much more incompletely represented." * The meaning of all this is obvious. The Tübingen school, in their blind and desperate attempt to maintain the late origin of all the gospels, and especially of John, have suffered themselves again to be misled. In the words of Professor Wace: "There is no longer any doubt that all four gospels existed in full, and substantially as we now have them, in the time of Tatian, and therefore of Justin Martyr;" for, as the author of "Supernatural Religion" expressly acknowledges, "Tatian simply made use of the same gospel as his master, Justin Martyr," † who died probably in A. D. 148.

One other point remains on which we wish to say a few words. It is the issue of the controversy in regard to "Marcion's gospel." This heretic was a native of Pontus, but lived and flourished at Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, that is, about A. D. 140. He used a gospel which, according to the consent of antiquity, and especially of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, was a mutilated Luke. There was no substantial reason for doubting this statement. But if it was true, then it was plain that Luke must have been written a considerable time before A.D. 140. This could not be admitted by Baur and his immediate followers, whose hypothesis required them to hold the late origin of that gospel. What was then to be

* Article by Professor Wace, "Expositor," Oct., 1882, p. 301. Comp. Charteris, "Croall Lectures for 1882," pp. 177, *ff.*

† Vol. ii, p. 159.

done? Of course, Marcion's gospel must be held and proved to be the earlier and the original gospel, of which that of Luke was only a later enlargement.*

In Germany, the rectification of this grievous error came in its final stage, to its honor be it said, from within Baur's own school. Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, two distinguished members of the school, were not only led by their own study to renounce the view of Baur and return to the traditional view, but by their thorough investigation as nearly proved as such a thing could be proved that the ancient view was right, and that Luke was the original from which Marcion had derived his gospel by mutilation. So effectual was the demonstration, that Ritschl was convinced, and even Baur withdrew from his original position. The question may now be regarded as finally settled in Germany in favor of the priority and originality of the Gospel of Luke.† The statement of the fathers is proved to be substantially correct, and Marcion's gospel turns out to be a mutilation of Luke.

But the matter was not so speedily brought to a conclusion in England. The author of "Supernatural Religion," as might have been anticipated, still held out. He could even write: "The statement of the fathers, that Marcion's gospel was no original work, but a mutilated version of Luke, is unsupported by a single historical or critical argument;" and again, "If we except the gospel according to the Hebrews, Marcion's gospel is the oldest evangelical work of which we hear any thing, and it *ranks far above the third Synoptic in that respect.*" ‡ But Dr. Sanday in his well-known volume, "The Gospels in the Second Century," entered once more into an elaborate investigation of the question, and succeeded in practically demonstrating the priority and originality of Luke. So convincing is his argument that he has had the unlooked-for satisfaction of seeing even the author of "Supernatural Religion," after the example of abler and wiser men, withdrawing from his wild position, and finally admitting that Luke, and not Marcion's

* See Baur, "Kritische Untersuchungen," pp. 397–427.

† "Es genügt zu bemerken, dass das Vorhandensein des Lucas vor Marcion von Volkmar, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, und Zeller, nachgewiesen wurde."—Holtzmann, "Die syn. Evangelien," p. 403.

‡ "Supernatural Religion," vol. ii, pp. 138, *f.*, 4th edition. The Italics are ours.

mutilation, is the true original. He now acknowledges that Dr. Sanday's "able examination of Marcion's gospel has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable, . . . and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion." He says that Dr. Sanday's argument must "prove irresistible to all" critics, and that "it is not possible reasonably to maintain" his previous view.* After such an admission coming from such a quarter, we may safely say with Professor Salmon of Dublin, "The theory that Marcion's form [of the gospel] is the original, may be said to be now completely exploded."

In the preceding pages we have dwelt on individual points by way of illustration; it now remains for us to give an indication of the general current of the tide of opinion in the critical world. Even in the negative critical world, in the very school of Baur himself, the current of opinion in regard to the dates of the leading books of the New Testament has begun distinctly to flow back. A brief general statement will be sufficient to make this luminous. Baur regarded Matthew as written after A. D. 130; Hilgenfeld, the present head of Baur's school, holds it to have been written immediately (εὐθέως) after the destruction of Jerusalem, say about A. D. 70; while Renan regards it as written about A. D. 84. Baur originally regarded Luke and Mark as written about A. D. 150 or later; but both Hilgenfeld and Renan agree in placing their date more or less decidedly within the first century, and therefore within the apostolic age. The case with John is very instructive. Baur regarded it as written about A. D. 160, or even 170; Hilgenfeld assigns it to A. D. 130–140; while Renan, after a good deal of vacillation, holds at present to about A. D. 125. Baur held Acts to be written about the middle of the second century; Hilgenfeld regards it as written after the close of the first century, but maintains that the portions narrated in the first person were the genuine work of Luke; while Renan assigns it to the first century. Baur regarded Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians as the only genuine Pauline epistles; but in addition to these, Hilgenfeld accepts also First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon; while Renan, also in addition, accepts First and

* "Supernatural Religion," complete edition (1879), vol. ii, pp. 138, *f.*

Second Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, and although he regards Ephesians as doubtful, yet he says that "in any case it belongs to the apostolic age." Baur relegated all, or almost all, the remaining books of the New Testament, except the Revelation of John, to the second century. Besides those specified above, Hilgenfeld assigns to the first century Hebrews (c. A. D. 66) and James (A. D. 81–96); while Renan assigns to the same century Ephesians, Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter. To sum up in a general way, we have this approximate result. According to Baur, we have only about one fourth of the New Testament belonging to the first century; according to Hilgenfeld, we have nearly three fourths, and according to Renan, decidedly more than three fourths, falling within the first century, and therefore within the limits of the apostolic age. This surely indicates a very decided and significant retreat.*

Such are a few of the checks or even reverses sustained of late years by the critics of the extreme negative school, and such is their substantial retreat. The general result of the whole is most significant and confirmatory of the catholic belief in regard to the age of the leading books of the New Testament. And let it be noted that the strength of the argument is to be seen not so much in the points separately

* It may be interesting and helpful to clearness to fix our attention more particularly on the four gospels. The following table gives the approximate dates according to different critics, and speaks for itself:

	Baur.	Volkmar.	Hilgenfeld.	Keim.	Renan.	Schenkel.	Holtzmann.	Weiss.	Meyer.
Matt.,	130+	105+	70+	66	84	70	c. 67	70+	60–70
Mark,	150+	73	81+	100	76	58	c. 68	69	60–70
Luke,	c. 150	100	c. 100	90	94	80	70+	80	70–80
John,	160+	155	130+	130	125	120	100–133	c. 95	80
	600	433	396	386	379	328	327	314	285

The above table may be accepted as approximately correct. We have added up the different columns (making allowances), in order that the eye may see the general results more distinctly. They are very significant. The sum under Baur is 600, and by comparing with this the sum under the other authors respectively, we see the aggregate retreat in regard to time in each case. We append Meyer as a specimen of the liberal but positive critic, only for comparison. We close the note with the words of Holtzmann himself: "Wir finden in der Tübinger Schule eine allgemeine Rückbewegung, bis zuletzt Hilgenfeld die evangelische Literatur in einer Zeit zum Abschluss bringt, wo sie nach Baur erst angefangen hätte.—Holtzmann, "Die synoptischen Evangelien," p. 403.

as in the general drift of the whole. Every new discovery has not only fallen in harmoniously with the view commonly held in the Church, but has distinctly tended to confirm it, while in some cases it has been dead against the extreme school of unbelief. Moreover, the distinct and general tendency of the leading authorities on the side of negative criticism has been to move the date of the chief New Testament books back nearer and nearer to the apostolic age, until at last, instead of only one fourth, they agree that about three fourths of the New Testament were actually written before the death of the apostle John.

When the age of historical criticism came, it was impossible that the books of the New Testament could escape the fire. They had of necessity to pass through the ordeal just like other ancient books, and it will be found in the long run that it was well for the Church that it was so. We have reason to believe that the battle of the dates is drawing near its close, with the victory obviously inclining to the side of the catholic view, namely, that the Christian Scriptures belong to the apostolic age. When the battle has once been fought out, and our sacred books have been proved and acknowledged even by negative critics themselves to fall within the first century, we may reasonably hope that a day will dawn of firmer faith than ever in these books. After they have stood the fire of such criticism as no ancient books have ever undergone, and the unwilling testimony of enemies is found substantially to coincide with that of friends, surely all future ages may regard them as practically unassailable. The battle had to be fought out; but the end is now in view, and fought out once, it is fought out forever.

One of the most brilliant of our scientific writers draws a vivid picture of the "fear and powerless anger" with which he supposes some Christians contemplate the advance of the "realm of matter and of law," that is, of physical science. As drawn by him, the picture is a sad one. But one sadder still sometimes presents itself on the side of unbelief. Here is a man who was cradled in the Christian faith, and brought up in a reverent belief in the New Testament. But when he grew up to manhood, he came into contact with the advanced criticism, let us say, of Baur and his school. It was to him

something quite new and startling. He was completely carried away by the originality of the principle which underlies the criticism; by the power, learning, and ingenuity with which the great master of the school supported it; and he ended in cordially accepting the position of extreme negation. In his own eyes he now became a free man, standing on the lofty rock of unassailable criticism, in the high, clear air far above the ignorant and superstitious multitude who grope in the twilight of the valley below. He has continued on in this course for years; he has, perhaps, proclaimed his views from the platform and the press; he has committed himself hand and foot to his position, and has become hardened in it. He is now, by "habit and repute," a member of the most enlightened school of infallible criticism; a well-known antagonist of superstitious supernaturalism, and, it may be, a prophet of the speedy downfall of Christianity. But as his generation glides away, a younger race of critics arise. They grow up accustomed to the negative criticism, and are not so easily bewildered and misled by the glamour of its novelty and ingenuity. They examine things more calmly, and in a healthier spirit; they almost unanimously give up the extreme negative position as utterly untenable, and retreat toward the catholic position. But what of our older friend? He has renounced his original faith, he has committed himself to his unbelief, and now it appears that he has been all wrong from the first! He has declared himself too publicly and too dogmatically, and it is too late for him to change. He is left high and dry by the receding tide, to maunder over his old arguments and objections, while the generation around looks on with pity or a smile. Doomed to see the conclusions of his infallible criticism rejected even by its friends—condemned to live to see the sacrifice of his faith in the New Testament proved to be a huge blunder and mistake—too proud, too crystallized, and too old to change—surely such a man presents to us one of the very saddest of spectacles; and, unhappily, it is one which is not altogether a mere picture of the imagination.

Art. VI.—THE CONGO.

The legend that tells how Alexander of Macedon wept because his career of conquest was cut short for want of a field for its further extension, not only shows him to have been weakly sentimental, but also very inadequately informed in respect to the extent of the world. Other conquerors may have had like thoughts, though not so much since it was written, "Columbus has given a new world to the kingdom of Castile and Leon." From that time the "star of empire" set out anew on its westward course, and it has gone onward till there is no longer an unoccupied West to invite its farther progress. But as that progress followed pretty closely the lines of latitude, it left on either side, and especially within the opposite hemisphere, vast unexplored regions for future occupation. It has thus happened that the earth's great garden, a continent itself, that lies among the seas southward from Europe, has engaged a comparatively small share of the world's interest for three centuries. But the day has at length dawned upon "the Dark Continent," and for the adventurous spirits of the immediate future, traders, naturalists, or missionaries, Africa is becoming "the land of promise."

But, in waking up to the fact that there is an Africa, they who now begin to think and speak of it as an inviting field for study or enterprise must not forget that that fair land has been the arena upon which some of the greatest exploits of history, and also of prehistoric times, have been enacted. Within its area the Pharaohs built the pyramids, and shaped those massive monoliths, the obelisks and sphinxes at which our self-complacent age gazes with the vacant wonder of children. At the dawn of history Egypt, the seat of an advanced civilization, was already passing to its decadence. Rome, in her campaign of a thousand years for the conquest and plunder of the nations, encountered her most formidable antagonists in Africa, whose warriors carried victory to the very gates of the City of the Seven Hills. In mediæval times the Italian republics found their mercantile supremacy challenged by the apparently insignificant States of Barbary, and even when the achievements of the Spanish navigator were sending Spain's hidalgos across

the western ocean, intent on spoliation and the spread of the Catholic faith, Portugal was quietly feeling her way down the African coast, till, passing its southern extremity, her adventurous mariners turned again northward, planting their colonies from Mozambique to the Red Sea.

The Africa of which we now purpose to write is, however, quite another than the fringe of small states that lie between the Midland Sea and the wastes of the Sahara and the littorals of the two oceans. We are to consider the vast region hitherto almost entirely unknown, but toward which the eyes of the world are turning—the habitat of that most distinctive of the races of men, the Negro. Even he has been recognized from the earliest times as a social factor, but all along only as a slave. In that relation Egypt has given him a place on her stony monuments; and from that unknown date in the forgotten past till yesterday, the vast unknown regions of Africa were the harvest-field for the supply of the world's slave-markets. And now at length the descendants of the slaves stolen from Africa to serve the Anglo-Saxon freemen of America, insular and continental, have strangely become loyal and emancipated subjects of the British sovereign, or else enfranchised freemen of our great Republic. Evidently a beneficent Providence, which contemplated the end from the beginning, was present to overrule the white man's iniquitous lust for gain as manifested in the enslavement of the Negro race; and the denouement of that long-continued tragedy in human history is at length beginning to appear.

The coasts of intertropical Africa have for three hundred years been possessed and partially occupied by some of the principal nations of Europe; but all the vast interior, beyond a narrow fringe washed by the sea, has remained a *terra incognita*. The school geographies and atlases used by the older half of those now living displayed the whole interior of Africa as an unknown waste, varied only by the mythical "Mountains of the Moon." But with the advent of the current century the deep silence began to be interrupted. Mungo Park pushed his way by Timbuctoo down the Niger, and paid the forfeit of his life for his temerity; and after him the Landers brothers, pursuing the same course, debouched into the ocean, thus solving one of the geographical enigmas of the age. Afterward came Barth,

and Baker, and Burton, and Speke and Grant, and Cameron, and Schweinfurth, and a multitude more, all of whom made tentative efforts toward solving the mysteries of the wonderful unknown land of the black man. A Gallico-American, Du Chaillu, made excursions inward beyond the settlements along the western coast, and rediscovered the gorilla, the cannibals, and the dwarfs. But greater than all these, during the same years the missionary explorer, Livingstone, pierced the continent through and through, and forever broke the spell that had so long made Central Africa an insoluble mystery. After him, inspired by his example, and intent on finding him in his hiding-place, came Stanley, the last, and, measured by results, the greatest, of African explorers. And now the great world has fairly waked up to the fact that there is an African continent, itself a large portion of the solid land of the world, and that it possesses great possibilities in respect to human wants.

It is well, perhaps, that this wonderful land has remained so little known, and therefore unappropriated by any nation, until now, when, under the influence of a better and more Christian civilization than has hitherto existed, this newly discovered and still unexplored region of such magnificent proportions may be saved from spoliation, and instead become an arena for the largest development of the industrial, the philanthropic, and the Christian enterprises of the age. And now we see the unprecedented spectacle of a newly discovered country of untold resources preserved and consecrated by the great Christian powers to peace and civilization; and of these things, their processes and the consummation of the scheme for their accomplishment, the two noble volumes now lying before us are the record and the assured prophecy.

During the years 1874–77 Mr. Stanley, under the auspices of the proprietor of the "New York Herald" and of the "London Daily Telegraph," made his famous journey across the "Dark Continent," from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo, and reached Europe early in the next year. This man seems to have been himself a scarcely less remarkable discovery than the strange land of which he comes to tell us; but despite his unpromising earlier career, the most cautious and skeptical have been compelled to recognize his personal greatness; and now one of the crowned heads of Europe—Leopold II. of

Belgium—becomes the patron of the enterprise of which these books relate the beginnings.

It is not our purpose to retell his story. "Is it not written in the book?" and is not the very air full of it? It is ours simply, in the proper and least pretentious sense, to review his work, to see and report what has been done, and as we may be able, to set in a clear light some of the salient points of the story, to group together and take account of the more important facts that have been determined, and to make a hasty and necessarily incomplete estimate of the demonstrated possibilities of the things certainly ascertained.

The accomplished results, of which these volumes are the record, make an addition of a new and very important chapter to the world's geographical knowledge. A vast region of intertropical Africa, of which heretofore very little was known, and of which only comparatively small parts have been claimed by any foreign power, is now revealed. The remarkable fact is demonstrated that one of the well-known rivers of Western Africa discharges into the Atlantic the drainage of a region equal in area to that of the entire United States east of the Mississippi; that the basin of the Congo extends from the Atlantic Ocean, at about the twelfth degree of east longitude, eastward to the thirtieth degree, three quarters of the distance across the continent, to the watershed that separates the streams that fall severally into the two oceans. This vast basin lies on both sides of the equator, extending southward more than twelve degrees, over seven hundred geographical miles, and northward through eight degrees, or nearly five hundred geographical miles. The area of this vast basin is thus seen to very considerably exceed a million of square miles, or more than twenty times that of New York or Pennsylvania.

The physical characteristics of this vast area are as remarkable as its extent. From west to east, and equally on both sides of the equator, it appears an unbroken stretch of varied but never mountainous surface, well watered and drained by unfailing rivers, all falling into the Congo, a region of marvelous fertility, producing all the forms of tropical vegetation, and being, of course, the range and haunts of wild animals. There are elephants and buffaloes, lions and tigers, hippopotamuses and crocodiles, giraffes and zebras; while to the hand of

industry the earth readily yields the most abundant supplies of whatever is needed for human subsistence.

The vastness of the African continent renders any definite conception of its details exceedingly difficult. The Africa of antiquity and of the Middle Ages was the region now known as North Africa, extending from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, including the Canary Islands, and from the Mediterranean southward to a little beyond the twentieth degree of north latitude. Of this vast area, the desert of Sahara is the great feature, having Egypt and Nubia and Abyssinia to the eastward, and along the northern littoral, the Barbary States of the recent past and the Africa of Roman history. Beyond the Great Desert is the land of the Berbers and other strange peoples, of whom some account was given in a late number of this Review. South of the western part of this region is a fairly well defined section, extending from Timbuctoo to the Gulf of Guinea, coming down nearly to the Equator, divided by the Kong Mountains, with the Valley of the Niger on the east, and on the north-west and west the Senegambia country drained by the Senegal, with the Cape Verde Islands off the western coast, and farther southward the British colony of Sierra Leone, the republic of Liberia, and the kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the coast towns of the Bight of Benin. This coast is the part of Africa best known in European commercial circles. Eastward from the valley of the Niger, and south of the Desert, is the great central basin, whose watercourses drain an extensive area, and converge in the vast estuary called Lake Tchad. Along the eastern coast from Cape Guardafui to Mozambique is the comparatively narrow belt, two or three hundred miles wide, whose waters flow through inconsiderable streams into the Indian Ocean. Still farther southward (latitude 10 to 20 deg. S.), and extending from the ocean westward, very far toward the Atlantic coast, is the basin of the Zambezi, second in extent only to that of the Congo, having on its south side the well-known states and outlying regions of South Africa, and on the west the Portuguese kingdom of Benguela, whose waters in small rivers fall into the Atlantic. These great natural divisions constitute the entire area of the African continent, except the interior basin, drained by the Congo and its affluents, lying south of the Lake Tchad region

and north of the basin of the Zambezi, and extending from the Gulf of Guinea on the west to the "divide" of the water-courses, not far from the Indian Ocean and the head-waters of the Nile.

The Congo River debouches into the Atlantic near the southern extremity of the Gulf of Guinea, about the sixth degree of south latitude, where it was formerly known as the *Zaire*, and recently as the "Livingstone" river, having the state of Loango on the right, and that of Congo on the left, of the river banks. The volume of water that is discharged into the ocean has long been known to be very great, since its current is felt and the discoloration of the water may be seen many leagues from the coast, and the depth of the channel as it enters the sea is a hundred fathoms. Estimates of the volume of water regularly discharged, made from approximate calculations from the size and velocity of the current, show results agreeing with the requirements of the area drained. The first section of the river—to Boma, seventy miles—is an arm of the sea; and thence upward to Vivi there is a broad, deep, and free channel with a moderate and steady current. Vivi is at the head of the lower river navigation, being at the bottom of the long series of rapids now called the Livingstone Falls, which continue upward nearly two hundred miles through a semi-mountainous region, with more than fifty cataracts of various heights, with long intervening stretches of navigable water to the broad expanse called Stanley Pool. The distance from Banana Point (the port of entry for sea-going vessels) to Boma is about seventy miles; and from Boma to Vivi, at the foot of the rapids, is forty miles more. From Vivi to Leopoldville, the station erected just above the beginning of the cataracts, is about two hundred miles. The vertical descent of the water between Stanley Pool and the river level at Vivi is not far from one thousand feet, and thence to the sea the fall is from two hundred to three hundred feet more.

Stanley Pool is a vast inland basin of quiet water, twenty miles in extent from the upper entrance of the great river to its contraction preparatory to its long succession of leaps and tumbles downward to the Lower Congo. Its breadth is about ten miles; and the whole area is divided into unequal parts by a low wooded island—Buma. From Leopoldville, at

the lowest part of Stanley Pool, to the foot of the Stanley Falls, following the river, which is not very crooked, the distance is a thousand and sixty-eight English miles, all without any interruption to navigation, and making a vertical descent of only four inches per mile. Accurate measurements show the elevation of the river at the foot of Stanley Falls to be 1,511 feet above sea level. The navigable extent of the many affluents, from both sides below Stanley Falls, carry the whole mileage up to more than five thousand. In the wide and elevated portion above the Stanley Falls, extending south-eastward, is the Lualaba with its great lakes and long affluents, which, however, are navigable only for smaller river crafts, yet largely available for both travel and transportation. On the right of the river, toward the great upland lakes which form the head-waters of the Nile—though the largest and best known of them, the Tanganyika, it is now ascertained sends its waters to the Congo—is a wide expanse of country of which as yet very little is known beyond its great physical characteristics. The outflow of water from Lake Tanganyika, in passing over two hundred miles westward, makes a descent of fully twelve hundred feet, and the south-western shore of that lake rises to an elevation of twenty-five hundred feet above the lake's surface, so making that region the highest land in the Congo basin, a kind of intertropical Switzerland. The whole area of the region now called, by anticipation, the State of Congo, is not less than a million and a half square miles, every part of it abundantly watered and remarkably fertile, everywhere traversed by water-ways, and productive beyond computation of whatever is requisite to human subsistence and to the demands of an advanced civilization.

The climatic conditions of this broad land are no doubt matters of primary interest, and especially since the notion has become prevalent that the climate of intertropical Africa has effectually forbidden the incoming of European and American residents. Because it is intertropical, and also a level country, the Congo land is, of course, a land of perpetual summer. Observations made at Vivi, for the year 1882, show a maximum upward range of ninety-four degrees (Fahrenheit) in February and May, while June, July, and August reached only eighty-six, eighty-four, and eighty-five degrees respectively.

The minimum temperature that year was, in July and August, fifty-six degrees; in June, sixty; in May and September, sixty-seven; in January and December, seventy. Here, as every-where else, there is among the natives much more dread of the cold than of the heat. The rain-fall for the same year equaled about forty-one and a half inches, of which more than half fell in November, December, and January. February, March, April, and May made an aggregate of nineteen inches, while June, July, August, and September, constituting the dry season, were almost absolutely without rain, and yet these months constituted the coolest season of the year. Though cloudy weather usually prevails in all seasons, yet the rains are intermittent and seldom amount to half an inch in twenty-four hours. Moderate winds prevail at nearly all seasons of the year.

Questions that may be asked respecting the salubrity of the climate cannot be answered in a single word. The fact that there is found through all this region a somewhat numerous population (estimated at not less than fifty millions) of stalwart and muscular people, that there are old men of eighty or over still sufficiently active to be recognized as kings or heads of their tribes, and that there are every-where multitudes of children and young people—all these things sufficiently prove that for its own inhabitants the climate is a health-giving one. Respecting Europeans and all white men, the question becomes complicated with a multitude of facts outside of merely local conditions and influences. Changes of climatic conditions naturally call for adaptations of the physical system to meet the new requirements, the making of which may result either favorably or otherwise. In some cases chronic diseases may be effectually cured, or congenital morbific tendencies held in abeyance; in others the constitutional tendencies to some forms of disease may be quickened into fatal activity, or a latent liability to some unhealthy development, that at home might have remained dormant, may be hastened to its fatal termination. The differences of conditions between a residence in Europe or the United States and one in intertropical Africa are so very considerable, that a removal to the latter from the former must be somewhat perilous, even although the latter may be in fact quite as favorable to health and long life. In every case there must be a process of acclimatizing, which

may or may not be attended by sickness, but is especially liable to be; and during that process, of three or six months, great care must be taken to avoid exposure to the direct rays of the sun, and to the night air, or any form of unnecessary physical or mental strain. The terrible force of the rays of the tropical sun is apt not to be properly appreciated and guarded against, and the night air, continuing well into the morning, is only a little less dangerous. High feeding, especially on animal food, must be avoided, and alcoholic drinks, even in the mildest forms, are superlatively evil. A wholesome and even generous diet, made up chiefly of farinaceous food, with vegetables and fruits, is desirable, with regular and sufficiently-abundant sleep. With these things properly cared for, there is no reason to presume that the climate of Congo land is less healthful than our own more widely variable seasons.

In respect to its ethnology, Congo land is the home of the typical Negro. To the very partial observations to which these people have been submitted they appear to be substantially the same throughout; but it is quite possible that a more intimate acquaintance with them and their traditions will detect more or less of tribal differences. There appears also to be a remarkable uniformity in the mental conditions of the whole population, which is a low, but not the lowest, stage of barbarism. They practice the mechanical arts, of a rude kind, and to a small extent, and their agriculture, which is their principal industry, though of the most primitive kind, is extensive and remarkably productive. As they have no winters or other seasons of unproductiveness to provide for, they escape the horrors of starvation that sometimes desolate the homes of more northern savages. The physical appearance of the people indicates the use of an abundance of food, which is also corroborated by the multitudes of children and the populousness of the country. Animal life is indeed decidedly sturdy and relatively wholesome, despite the many and great drawbacks that are inseparable from the conditions of barbarism. Politically, the people are divided into small tribes, each having its chief or "king," who rules without any clearly defined laws, though the "customs" are recognized and somewhat respected. On some occasions several of these "head men" and their retainers form temporary confederations for aggression or defense, but these

are only partial and temporary. A large portion of the population are slaves, for any man may become a slave-holder by purchase or the spoils of war, but the condition of the slaves is not much less favorable than that of the nominally free. Polygamy is practiced without any legal restrictions, and a man's greatness is often measured by the number of his wives, and of course women are universally the property of their husbands.

Their religious ideas are the simplest and grossest. They have no idea of God, a supreme, super-mundane, and spiritual Ruler; neither have they any ethical code. Conscience with them is apparently only an undeveloped potentiality, and instead of the stoic's sense of honor they display only the coarsest forms of egotism, and self-respect is replaced by supercilious vanity. Their superstition is manifested at every point. They recognize the preternatural in every thing, and of course they are universally fetich worshipers. They believe in the future state, which is, according to their conceptions, very much like the present, and like most other savages they seek to provide for that state by offerings of whatever is most valuable at the grave, or to the *manes* of the dead. As the Greeks sacrificed a man's slaves to accompany and serve him in the spirit world, and as the Hindu widow was burned upon the same funeral pile with the body of her dead husband, that the outgoing soul might be duly attended, so the Congo chief is supposed to be accompanied by his retinue of slaves which are slain at his funeral. Mr. Stanley tells of a case where "a long ago superannuated potentate" had died, and the whole region was searched over for the purchase of slaves to be murdered at his funeral; and at length the sickening massacre was witnessed by two European traders, who were powerless to prevent the horrible transaction. It is enough to say respecting the morality of these Congoese, that they are heathens and barbarians, having, in the usual degree, the vices that universally prevail in such a state of society, with a corresponding absence of positive virtues. Though overbearing to inferiors, they are not brave, and therefore not greatly addicted to war-making; but, when out of danger, they are cruel, truculent, and altogether treacherous. They recognize white men as essentially a superior race of beings, to whom they readily give their confidence, and to individuals of whom attachments are sometimes formed

not unlike that of a dog for his master; and through this influence it may doubtless happen that a genuine moral character may be evoked. By that mode of access the Christian teacher may be enabled to reach the latent moral element in the minds of these people, and so lead them to a higher moral and religious status. Something of this kind seems to have occurred between Livingstone and some of his personal associates; but we find only the most remote approaches to any thing of a like nature in the relations of Stanley to his Congoese.

The volumes now before us, as has already been suggested, come to the public somewhat in the form of a report of proceedings of a commission sent out under the auspices of the "Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo," an association constituted expressly for the prosecution of explorations on that river, of which association King Leopold II. of Belgium was the chief patron, and Mr. Stanley was the managing agent for the work in Africa. This has since given place to "The International Association of the Congo," constituted early in the present year by the Berlin Conference, in which nearly all the principal powers of Europe were represented by their plenipotentiaries, and in which also the representatives of the United States took part, and whose character and designs are thus stated in the "Declaration" made to and by the Belgian government:

> The International Association of the Congo declares by these presents, that, in virtue of treaties concluded with the legitimate sovereigns in the basin of the Congo and its tributaries, it has been ceded the sovereignty of vast territories, with the object of founding a free and independent State; that conventions define the frontiers of the territories of the association as regards those of France and Portugal, and that the frontiers of the Association are shown on the annexed map.... [A map attached to the "declaration."] That it assures to foreigners who settle in its territories the right to buy, sell, or lease ground and buildings situated thereon, to establish houses of business and trade (without duties or imposts), under the sole condition of obeying the laws. It undertakes, in addition, to accord no advantage to the citizens of (any) one nation, without immediately extending it to the citizens of all other nations, and to do all in its power to put down the slave trade.

The "Free State" of Congo, as here described, appears to exist, in respect to its governmental authority, in an "Association" guaranteed by the chief governments of Europe. Its

rights of dominion within its proper territory is professedly derived from its former "legitimate sovereigns," which may do well enough as a legal fiction, and as a device for obtaining the needed sovereignty without violence or the sacrifice of the good-will of the local "sovereigns."

The arrangement is good for all parties—a decided improvement upon the policy of seizure and spoliation that prevailed in this continent after its discovery. Treaties with savage races may mean much or little according to the good faith or otherwise that prevails in their formation and execution; in this case it may be hoped that the united influences of the higher morality of our times, and the mutual jealousies of the "powers," will avail to protect the "Free State of Congo" from spoliation by any one of them, and that private enterprise and Christian philanthropy will here find a free field. The arena is ample, and its possibilities beyond estimate; its proper occupation and improvement will constitute the grandest bequest made by the closing to the incoming century.

In respect to the industrial and commercial capabilities of this vast region it is very easy to err in either direction. No nation or people can purchase foreign wares beyond the value of what they have to sell, and it is too obvious to require proof that barbarians and savages are always poor. But the sources of wealth in all this region are both abundant and easy to be made available. The Congo has long been known as a channel for bringing ivory to the coast; and though much that could be gathered up from the remains of dead animals has been already marketed, still much of the same kind remains to be gathered. But the chief supply must be obtained by hunting and destroying the living animals. It is estimated that there are not less than 200,000 living elephants within the Congo basin, carrying in their heads an average of fifty pounds of ivory, of an aggregate value of $25,000,000. Among other forms of non-agricultural wealth may be named the skins of monkeys, goats, antelopes, buffaloes, lions, and leopards; the gorgeous feathers of tropical birds; the teeth of the hippopotamus; tortoise-shell, bees-wax, frankincense, and myrrh. Of the industries of the forests, those of palm-oil and of India rubber are the principal, and of these the supply is practically unlimited, and they are rendered available by only a little comparatively unskilled labor. There

are also vast sources of wealth in gum, copal, and orchilla weed, which may be picked up by all who will do so, and also in the camwood and redwood powder, which any woman may prepare for market. There are also large opportunities for the production of the metals by native artisans, who now operate mines of iron, copper, and plumbago; nor is there any lack of gold, though not much has been done toward its development.

The agricultural productions of the whole region are already very considerable, with the possibilities of indefinite increase. "Every native village on the Upper Congo," writes Stanley, "has its sugar-cane plots and maize. Bananas and plantains thrive marvelously. In the Kwa valley the natives eat bread of millet flour; but the cassava or manioc furnishes the staple of farinaceous food of the people along the main river."

A black field pea, that grows prolifically with but little cultivation, is much in favor, and of vegetables there are unlimited supplies of sweet potatoes, yams, cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, and tomatoes; and many of the chief varieties of European garden and field plants are found to take kindly to the soil and climate, and to produce abundantly. Rice has been introduced by the Arabs in the eastern portion of the basin, and also wheat; and all the fruits of the torrid zone and many of more temperate regions are found to flourish luxuriantly. In the three great staples of sugar, rice, and cotton the capabilities of this region seem to be practically unlimited; but these can be effectually realized by the industry of the people—and industry is not a characteristic of barbarians, under a tropical sun, with an easily available natural supply for their few and simple wants.

The favorable solution of the African question depends very largely on the further question, whether or not the listless carelessness of the natives can be so far overcome as to enable them to develop the resources of the land about them; nor is this entirely hopeless. Already all along the chief rivers the pursuits of trade are overcoming the natural indolence of the chiefs and of other unofficial traders; and the twin passions, avarice and love of display, are producing their natural results in the form of productive industry. It has been demonstrated that the natives will work for wages, and also that the presence of foreign wares awakens an earnest desire for their possession. If, therefore, these people shall indeed be effectu-

ally restrained from war, and the slave trade and slavery be rooted out, the chiefs will have only the pursuits of trade and industry for their occupation; and with the increase of wealth will come also increased wants, which will in time call for increased productions. And if, further, as is provided for in the regulations of the International Association, all intoxicating liquors shall be effectually excluded, there would seem to be room to hope that the material civilization and elevation of Congo land is not to be despaired of. No doubt, however, the most formidable difficulty in the case will be found in the incompetency of the white men who will be called to aid in the execution of the work. The pages of the work before us show very clearly how grievously the one responsible head of the enterprise found himself handicapped by the incompetence, the indolence, and the perverseness of his appointed assistants. Men go on such expeditions without any adequate conception of their requirements; they are heroes at home, but utterly fail in times of trial. Others are mere adventurers or romancers, who have no relish for steady and taxing labors; or, worse still, some are both selfish and vicious, and will hinder where they are expected to help. If failure shall come to the enterprise, these will be its procurers.

Probably the question of the most lively interest with many of our readers will relate to the possibilities of this vast region as a field for Christian missions. The three great conditions to be taken into account in choosing a field for evangelistic propagandism—sufficient breadth, accessibility, and probable permanence of the people—are found here in all needed fullness. Within this field is found a large share of one of the great ethnic divisions of the human race—less numerous than no other race except only the Chinese and the Hindus—freely offered to the Christian enterprise of the age, and destined beyond any reasonable peradventure soon to become civilized. And in respect to the conditions that promise growth and expansion of the population, instead of the diminution and decay that have so often among barbarous nations resulted from the processes of civilization, here is all that can be wished. There is indeed no reason to apprehend that the cases of the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, in decadence along with enlightenment, will be repeated among the natives of the Congo land;

and unless all visible indications shall prove fallacious, the Negro is the coming man. These primary conditions therefore are all that could be desired, and the Christian heroism of the age is challenged by them to enter in and possess the land.

It would, however, be a great mistake to assume that an easy conquest is here promised; for though the obstacles to be overcome are largely negative in character, yet are they both real and formidable. The absence of religious convictions and institutions among the people offers very small advantages if there is also a corresponding want of religious susceptibilities. The obstacles to be overcome are chiefly the all-pervading mental and social inertia—the almost absolutely universal indifference in respect to every thing beyond material interests and sensuous pleasures. Heathenism is practically the synonym of depravity, which is both negatively and positively antagonistic to Christian truth and the wholesome restraints of the Gospel. Nor can there be, in even the least compacted tribal or personal relations, an entire absence of social influences; and these will always co-operate with the prevalent tendencies of the common characteristics. The superstition that is always so effective in the heathen mind, while as the expression of the religious intuitions and instincts of the soul it offers a way of access for religious instruction—just as St. Paul used Athenian "extreme religiousness" as a means by which to teach the highest and purest theism—nevertheless at once indisposes the mind to wholesome instruction, and also cherishes its own vanities in opposition to the pure and lofty doctrines and precepts of Christianity. As in the individual soul the successful operations of the Gospel are always effected against opposition, and appear in the form of a victory, so must the Gospel in its approaches to nations and peoples attain to success only by overcoming. The fact that a people are without letters, and have only the faintest ethnic traditions, and are almost entirely destitute of both social and religious institutions, while it may indicate the probability of but little positive and organized opposition to the Gospel, shows however that a great amount of severe and long-continued labor will be required in order to insure success.

The methods of practical operations in Christian teaching must of course be adapted to local conditions and peculiarities.

Religious observances and institutions very largely receive their forms from their environments, as indeed should be the case; and it is great unwisdom to attempt to transplant and reproduce the outgrowths of local conditions into places and among peoples with whom the conditions that first originated them are wanting. Foreign missionaries have very much to learn and unlearn along this line; since, in all cases, the methods of evangelistic action, and the resultant religious and ecclesiastical institutions, must be adapted to the requirements of their circumstances. The "Articles of Religion" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made up of fragmentary excerpts from the "Thirty-nine Articles" of the Church of England, were from the first a wholly inadequate and ill-expressed formulary of Christian doctrine, because they were originally designed for other and widely different conditions from those of the pioneers of American Methodism. The attempt to make them the standards of faith for Hindus, and Chinese, and Japanese is, therefore, simply the perfection of absurdity. So, too, our "General Rules," because they were originally prepared for and adapted to a very widely different order of things from any thing now found among us, have become, even at home, thoroughly obsolete and without meaning; and certainly only the most insensate literalistic traditionalism would think of setting them up as the ethical code of those to whom the things referred to are wholly unknown. And so in attempting to propagate the Christian faith along the Congo, and to establish religious practices and institutions, it will be well to carefully discriminate between what in our home religion is essential to Christianity and what is only incidental, to be used or laid aside as may seem to be expedient.

It will probably be found that even the divinely appointed institution of "preaching," according to the usual acceptation of that term, will be found not the best suited for Christian instruction among the heathen tribes of Congo land. The work must begin very much lower down than the conditions of mental and social life that are supposed to exist where public address is an available form of teaching. The process by which those heathen barbarians are to be Christianized must provide for their mental elevation as necessary to their acceptance and retention of the saving lessons of the Gospel. It must, there-

fore, begin with the personal influence, made effective principally by examples, of the missionary among the people. He must, therefore, reside sufficiently near to them to be known and felt by them, which means practically that there shall be missionary stations provided with all the conditions of home life, so affording opportunities for informal oral instruction, the creation of a written language, and especially the instruction of the children.

As in the occupation of the country for its industrial development it has been judged necessary to establish stations at proper points, with the required buildings for residences and store-houses, and to plant gardens and provide, as far as practicable, for self-sustentation, so, and even more largely, must missionary work be carried on by the slow but sure processes of occupation and permanent residence. The theory of self-support, though easily rendered absurd and impracticable by its too exclusive application, is no doubt the only theory upon which missions in interior Africa can be successfully prosecuted. Transportation and outfit and temporary sustentation must, of course, be provided in advance; but after the field has been reached and the station provided, mother earth and the strong right arm of the missionary, with such help as he may employ, wielded with cheerful force and sustained by a brave heart, must be the chief dependence. The practicability of this method has been tried by both the Livingstone Congo mission, which has recently been placed under the patronage and guardianship of the American Baptists, and by the English Baptist missions; and, to some extent, similar methods of missionary work are now carried on in various parts of the African continent. Mr. Stanley, though evidently friendly, never assumes the role of the advocate of the missionaries or their work; but occasional glances are now and then given by him, which are all the more valuable because they are purely incidental. We give the annexed as a specimen, and also as an illustration, of what an African missionary station may be:

> A few miles beyond we begin the descent into the broad valley of Lukamga, where we are hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Ingham, of the Livingstone mission. . . . The mission cottage was as dainty within as any residence need be. A spacious garden behind it presented a vivid promise; a well-kept

court or plaza in front was surrounded by store-rooms, kitchen, and school-rooms. Under the shadowy eaves were to be seen the mission children, with their subdued air, as though they were impressed with the awful mysteries of the alphabet. It rather encouraged me to believe that the Congo climate, even in that low hollow of Lukamga, was endurable, when I here saw a delicate-looking lady bear herself so bravely. . . . My sojourn of twenty-four hours was enjoyed with the most exquisite pleasure. Ten men might have utterly stripped and carried away the veneer of civilization on that mission-house, and left it bare and barbarous (it probably cost only £100); but the art was in the lady's hands, and the rich gift of taste inherited in far away England had diffused attractiveness over the humble home.

Another remark of our author, made in another case, and without any intended reference to the missionary work, is highly suggestive. Estimating the probable number of elephants in the whole country, he drops the remark: "Mr. Ingham, a missionary, lately shot twenty-five elephants, and obtained money for the ivory," which he elsewhere estimates at more than a hundred dollars for each animal. This seems very much like "self-support," achieved without any neglect of real missionary duty.

But all this implies the important consideration that to do successful missionary service in Africa a man must have the elements of character that insure success from the start. He should, of course, have a thoroughly sound physique, with large powers of endurance; but above all else he should have a brave heart and a cool head. A moderate share of enthusiasm may not be without its value, but there should be not a spark of fanaticism. Deep religiousness of character is doubly needful—first, to qualify him to preach Christ in every word and action, unconsciously as well as of set purpose; and, next, to sustain his spirit among the discouragements that are sure to come upon him, and to cause him to feel that it is his highest privilege to labor and suffer for Christ; and only second to this is a buoyancy of animal spirit—the very soul of cheerfulness and hopefulness among adversities. The successful African missionary goes thither to live and to work for the Master rather than to die; and accordingly he is careful not to expose his health to unnecessary perils, and also to be doing something whenever possible—the small things as well as the great—not accounting any service beneath him. The work of the true

missionary must be a "labor of love;" and that this may not fail of its reward it must be sustained by "the patience of hope," never despising "the day of small things."

To attempt a mission in the Congo, there should be a company of half a dozen to a dozen strong young or middle-aged stalwart and common-sense men. There should be neither woman nor child in the first expedition, though at a later stage of the work the presence of the right kind of women is well-nigh a necessity. And above all else, there should be no fine gentlemen. Every missionary to Africa should be a man of faith, who believes in the divinity of his calling, and also in *quinine* as the *magnum donum Dei*, through the instrumentality of which he is to accomplish his mission—just the opposite of the fanatic, who tempts God by exposing himself to uncalled-for perils. That there are such men in the churches we will not doubt; but how they may be found out and brought to the front and initiated into the work is a matter much more difficult to settle.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has two distinct missions in Africa, both under a common superintendency: one in Liberia, which has been very carefully administered for half a century, with only moderate results; the other just now in its incipiency, led by Bishop Taylor, and designed to reach from ocean to ocean, through Angola and the valley of the Zambezi, south of the Congo basin. Of the former of these nothing now needs to be said, since it is not an aggressive body, and especially not a mission to heathen Africa. Of the latter, it is yet too soon to speak of results, but we are free to utter words of decided commendation in respect to the theory upon which it is projected; to wit, that after the missionaries shall be established in their proper stations, and fairly engaged in their work, they are expected to provide, as far as possible, for their own maintenance, which we see no reason to doubt is wholly practicable. It is, however, not to be denied that some grave mistakes have been made, especially in making up the *personnel* of the expedition. The man who led out a mother and four children under six years old, on an expedition that only strong men should enter upon, committed a grave mistake; of which, however, he has duly repented, and made the best possible reparation by returning home, a wiser if also a sadder man. The

three or four zealous and godly persons in the expedition who, misinterpreting the divine promises, expected to be preserved by miracles instead of by the use of the natural methods that God has provided have also emphasized their folly, and perhaps set a limit to that form of fanaticism; and if so, the life that has been sacrificed has not been wholly thrown away. The survivors have learned that God saves by means, and that, having the means of safety at hand, it is neither faith nor piety, but presumption, to tempt God by refusing to use them. It may be hoped that any future expeditions that shall go forth on the same sublime mission will have in them no little children, not many women, and the fewest possible irrational enthusiasts. But should the greater part of Bishop Taylor's heroic band succumb in death, or hasten their flight homeward, we shall still expect that a good work will be done by those who continue in it with those who shall hereafter join them, and that the wilderness of the Zambezi valley shall yet bud and blossom, and bring forth its rich fruitage for the Lord of the harvest.

And shall not our Church have a part in the evangelization of the millions that sit in darkness in all the vast area of the Congo basin? Have we not the men for this work—such men as we have described? and is there not the requisite enthusiasm, at once fervid and discreet, to lead them forth to a work so glorious? May it not be hoped that Stanley's Congo will act as a trumpet-call to the Church for Africa?

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT.

To die is men's common destiny; and to each one, in respect to himself, the event is about equally significant. The Roman poet's reminder that

> "Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
> Regumque turres,"

is only another rendering of the Hebrew Preacher's "All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again:" or the words of the Apostle, "It is appointed unto men to die." But there are circumstances and conditions that attend upon the common experience which greatly emphasize and exaggerate the differences of the common event. To die quietly, among loved and sympathizing friends, is often thought of as the most desirable condition of that always serious but inevitable experience. But among the momentous realities of man's exit from his mundane being what can be, in respect to the deceased, more worthless and impertinent than the funereal pomp with which earth's great ones are returned to the earth? The best funeral record ever made was that concerning Israel's great leader, of whom it is written the Lord buried him, though in an unknown grave; or that of the first Christian martyr, whose record is, that "devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him." There have been many more gorgeous funerals than either of these, as to their outward trappings, but never any that more completely combined all that could be rationally desired.

So we thought as, not long since, we looked upon that unequaled display of military and civic honors among which the mortal remains of the nation's second redeemer were borne to their last resting-place. It was well that a great nation and the people to whom his sword had given back an undivided country to be the perpetual home of none but freemen, should so honor their deliverer; and equally so that they who there saw lying in the arms of death the outward form of one whom the divine providence had called from the humble home of his childhood and raised him up to command armies, and afterward to guide the affairs of the nation, and at length to receive the homage of kings, should at that supreme moment pause to think upon that wonderful career now ended, and to honor the personal qualities that made such a career possible.

The deeds and the renown of our illustrious dead have now become historical, and as such we shall here consider them, but only in some of their many aspects; for time alone can mold the whole into symmetrical unity, and cast over them the curtain of mellow shadings that come

only with the dimness of distance. Still some things are already sufficiently evident, and from these we may more than conjecture what will be the final verdict in the case, and what the aspects of the colossal statue in which the muse of history shall forever immortalize our great and many-sided soldier, statesman, citizen, and father of his household—this unique and peerless MAN.

Macaulay wrote at the opening of his essay on Addison: "No man is so great a favorite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity;" and none can fail to see how conspicuously all these conditions united in General Grant's case at the time of his death. Very few characters or personal careers present so many and such conspicuous features and incidents, and those so well calculated to awaken admiring interest. Others may be thought of that equal or excel his in some particulars, but in scarcely any other case have there been combined in one person so many particulars that unite to make up an admirable completeness of character. That a country boy without any special advantages of family or other relations—a lad with apparently nothing to distinguish him from the millions of others of the same age and conditions—should, in forty years, ascend through all the steps of life's ladder, from his boyhood's home to the highest points of military and civic distinctions in his own country, and afterward become the accepted and honored guest of the kings and potentates of the world, is something altogether admirable. That one in whom such possibilities were latent should for forty years have remained not only unknown by others, but equally unsuspected by himself as to what he might become, is not only remarkable, but highly suggestive. Though it is not to be supposed that, as to his character, he was the creature of his opportunities, still appearances indicate that but for the War of the Rebellion occurring just at that point in his life-time, in the transactions of which he became so considerable an actor, as well as in the events that followed, he might have lived and died without the suspicion on the part of any body that he was any thing more than the average of the masses of mankind. In the face of the sneering smile of the skeptical in respect to the possibilities of greatness among the unknown masses of our race, such a case greatly strengthens the notion that we have somewhere read, that "In every country church-yard may be found the graves of songless Miltons and bloodless Cæsars—of Hampdens that never struggled against tyranny and of Cranmers that never suffered for the truth." But while it is quite certain that no possible accidents could supply the qualities that at length became so conspicuous in General Grant's life and character, it is still clearly evident that but for the opportunity that came unsought and unexpected they would have remained only undeveloped and unknown potentialities.

The conditions and instrumentalities through which men achieve greatness are usually but very partially understood either by the actors themselves or by others; and yet, beyond a question, the divinity that shapes their ends is largely of themselves. It is not surprising that the men

who have accomplished great results in the face of formidable difficulties —who have wrought revolutions and shaped the destinies of nations— have themselves often seemed to be superstitiously impressed with the idea that they were the agents or instruments of a higher power; and those who have studied such men's careers have sometimes seemed to feel the presence and potency of some hidden force by which the results reached were finally determined. And while such actions are in process of execution, they who are engaged in them often appear to those who consider their movements most deeply to be moving within charmed circles, and to be accomplishing their assigned mission in sublime solitude. To be the agents of such works, and to bring them to successful issues, is justly esteemed the appropriate and peculiar calling of earth's real heroes, to whom is due the meed of sincere admiration.

In most cases where men have been thus strangely taken up from those among whom they were found and raised to positions of conspicuous greatness, the change effected has resulted, not only relatively but also really, in a transformation of character and of thought. But in General Grant's case we have a conspicuous example of homely simplicity maintained in spite of the influence of honors and high positions; and after all his exaltation he is seen, like Cincinnatus, returning to his farm, and in death, like Joseph, asking to be buried among his own people; and his whole career is in marked contrast with that of Cromwell, aping the style of royalty, or of Napoleon, assuming the imperial purple.

It is not always the case that the characters of the great men of history will bear close examination on all sides. They are admirable only from a single angle of observation, and their greatness is often lamentably one-sided; and, as if aware of this, men have by a kind of tacit consent agreed that the private lives of public characters ought not to be inquired after. So often is the splendid exterior of great names associated with unsavory and offensive private histories, that conventional politeness forbids all inquiry respecting the latter in dealing with public characters. Genius has often been accepted as earning immunity from the exactions of private morality; and success in gaining renown is taken as a full compensation for all ordinary defects in respect to personal virtue. But this self-delusion and patent falsehood is only for a little while. History, in the sternness of its integrity, disregarding this pernicious rule of social ethics, strips off the mask and false trappings, and presents the character in its completeness, whether it be to depict the most splendid of conquerors as the slave and victim of his own bestial lusts, or to exhibit him who was confessed to be the *wisest* and *brightest* as also the *meanest* of mankind. But in the case we are now considering none of these devices of falsehood are needed, and the clearest and most searching light fully demonstrates the possibility and the reality of irreproachable private virtue associated with high public position. Happily this is not a solitary case; and yet it is well that it should be noted and emphasized that examples of an opposite kind, which are not wanting, may be reproved, and their evil influences restrained. It is pleasant and wholesome to contem-

plate a great and distinguished public man elevated in his personal character and his private life above any possible occasion for the special considerations which society calls for in favor of so many men in public positions. As a husband and a father, as well as a citizen and a man confessing the obligations of Christian morality, General Grant stands before the world to demand and receive the admiration of all who value true moral worth.

It often seems to require the tests of adversity, and especially of severe personal sufferings, to bring out a man's most admirable qualities of mind and heart. There are more heroes, but less real heroism, in the conflicts and destruction of the battle-field than among the wasting pains and hopeless sufferings of the hospitals; and many a one who could without blanching confront death in the excitement of battle, would lose heart under the pressure of protracted sufferings with no other hope of relief than inevitable death. And in this terrible ordeal the whole world saw, with intensified admiration, General Grant patiently and without murmuring struggling between life and death through wearisome days and weeks and months, tenderly caring for the feelings of those who sympathized with him, and compelling himself to cheerfulness among the saddest environments, and seeming to hope against all human hopes in order that his heart might not fail him in the supreme hour. This was true moral courage, itself as much better than what is seen in simply physical conflicts as is the fortitude of the martyr of a higher type than the gladiator's reckless disregard of death.

It was said, when death had done its work, that the conqueror of armies had at last himself found his conqueror. The saying, though correct in the sense intended, and also sadly poetical, was only half true. Even in his death General Grant achieved his greatest victory over his enemies, compelling his most malignant detractors and also his doubtful friends to render either a willing or an enforced tribute to his good name. It is sometimes the lot of the best of men to pass long seasons under the shadows of suspicion and distrust, having their best actions and most unselfish motives misconstrued: possibly some may rest in dishonored graves who deserved a better fate: but in this case, though the poisoned tongue of the defamer had endeavored its worst, the very lips of falsehood were shut up in silence. It was a sight to be admired and prized beyond all other expressions of the common sense of loss, that, when General Grant lay stark and cold in his coffin, not only did every honest heart pronounce his name as that of a *great*, and especially an *honest*, man, but the very breath of detraction was, for the time being, shamed into silence. This final verdict, which seldom fails to be rendered correctly, in this case came not tardily; and its coming, rendered as it was with such complete accord and spontaneous heartiness, determines, beyond all else, that his grand career has ended in triumph. His name now passes into history as that of the soldier who warred without malice and conquered only to spare; of the statesman who ruled the distracted nation in the interests of justice tempered with gentleness; of the citizen whose patriotism was

untainted by any shred of selfishness; and of the honest, upright, tender-hearted, and God-fearing man in all his varied relations. Such a character, standing out in the clear light of day before the American people, must, despite their disinclination to hero-worship, command their *admiration*.

In the constellation of our country's great men, though there is no lack of brilliant characters, there are confessedly but three that surpass all others, and only these are stars of the first magnitude—Washington, Lincoln, and Grant; and of these each shines with his own peculiar light, and is known and admired for his distinctively recognized excellences. Washington was grand in the heroic simplicity of his character and for the loftiness and purity of his patriotism; but his virtues were Roman rather than specifically American, which latter species of manhood was but partially developed in his day. He was also a self-contained, a solitary man, and was, by his grandeur, separated from those about him, living in a kind of self-conscious reticence. His most intimate friends approached him only with manifest deference, and his admirers gazed upon him only from a respectful distance. The historical Washington, as his image is shaped by the common conception, and which alone will be tolerated by his countrymen, whether that image is indeed real or only ideal, is that of a man standing apart from all others, grand, solitary, and unapproachable, and incomparable because essentially unique, not less than on account of his transcendent personal excellences. Lincoln's greatness was also peculiar and indescribable; but, unlike Washington, he was apparently so simple and child-like, and so thoroughly an embodiment of homely, every-day characteristics, that the peculiarities of his mind and heart for which he at length became distinguished, were not at once detected and appreciated; perhaps least of all was he himself aware of any thing peculiar or notable in his own mental composition. But back of that plain and unimpressive exterior was another, an inner, self, which by degrees, and as called out by occasions, manifested its presence both to his own consciousness and to the apprehension of those nearest to him—but only of such as could also somewhat sympathize with his deep spirituality. By virtue of that quality of his mind he lived a double life, and in his higher moods saw things in other aspects and felt other influences than could be appreciated by less gifted souls. It was this that enabled him to see in the tendencies of public affairs the coming of results of which others saw no promise, and which impelled him always to adopt the right measures at the appropriate times. Such a character is not usually appreciated at its proper value by those who view it only among the conditions of daily life, just as a prophet is not honored as such by those who know him personally. But, like some grand mountain peak, which to those at its base seems scarcely distinguished from its surrounding foot-hills, but which distance appears to lift up in unrivaled grandeur, so, quite certainly, will Lincoln's greatness become increasingly conspicuous with the lapse of time. But Grant's greatness was the result of no one particular characteristic. Perhaps in no one quality was he greater than many others have been, but

he was individually great because in him were conjoined and blended in simplest harmony the common elements that go to make up an admirable character. He was certainly a great soldier and military strategist, but not greater than many others that have lived in other times. It was certainly great in him that, when crowned with victory, he so completely subordinated personal ambition to his love of country; but so did also Washington and many other conquerors of their country's foes. He was strangely forbearing and kind to his vanquished enemies, but so was also Demetrius; and while he was as formidable in battle as a Napoleon and as prodigal of life as a Cromwell, he was as tender as a father in respect to the welfare of his soldiers; and this, too, has not been an unusual characteristic of great military leaders. But these characteristics, each one of which has rendered some former warrior illustrious, were all largely developed and combined in his character and manifested in his career. As a soldier, he ranks with Napoleon and Wellington; as an unambitious patriot, he has no peer but Washington; and in all the qualities of soldierly honor, care for his subordinates, and clemency toward the vanquished, he is the equal of the most honored names in military history.

But his special praise is, that in the presence of the full blaze of military glory, and through the glamour of civic and political splendor, his private virtues and personal qualities are especially conspicuous. The renown of the hero and the statesman does not obscure the qualities of the man; but instead, those must be laid aside in order that his nobler excellences may properly appear. His highest praise is, that in his utmost exaltation, and while receiving the homage of the whole world, he never for a moment forgot his private and personal relations and their resultant obligations—his duties to his family, the claims of private friendship, and the sacred obligations of morality and religion. Washington is truly illustrious, but we view him from a distance, and estimate his character in its aggregate unity rather than by any inventory of its qualities; Lincoln is honored as a man who combined the simplicity of a child with the wisdom of a sage, the sagacity of a statesman and the lovableness of a great human heart. But Grant was in the aspects of his character simply a man—the patriotic citizen who diligently served his country in the positions to which he was called; the faithful friend and neighbor, husband and father, who recognized and rendered the duties derived from all his relations. The well-rounded completeness of all these common elements of human worth constituted his peculiar and transcendent greatness; and perhaps because of this symmetry of character his relative greatness is not always apparent, just as a colossal statue, if well proportioned, fails to appear monstrous. Every one is sufficiently great who is equal to all the demands made upon him, but only peculiar conditions and special opportunities can test men's highest qualities; and wherever the largest requirements are adequately responded to, there true greatness of character is demonstrated. All these conditions, it may be safely claimed, were united in the case of him whose career we are now considering, whose

fame, while so conspicuously that of both the soldier and the civilian, was pre-eminently that of the *man*.

The aspect in which the public contemplate the memory of General Grant has in it an element that is often wanting in respect to great public characters, and which, beyond all else, is charily and sparingly rendered—that of genuine personal respect. Honor, and indeed devotion, is given more freely than this, and even love is less cautious and self-restrained. The qualities of mind and heart that command respect are not always the most showy, though, unhappily, they are often the most difficult to find in the requisite completeness. There must be honor and truthfulness, unselfishness coupled with self-respect, and conscientiousness associated with high resolves. All these characteristics may indeed be found in humble and undistinguished persons; and even there they command respect, and render those who possess them objects of favor. Men instinctively honor them wherever they are detected; and they of whom such qualities may be predicated are sure of the favorable consideration of all right-thinking men; and all who know how to justly estimate men's good-will and true reverence will value genuine respect as the rarest and the most precious tribute. And because all these high qualities are conceded to have been eminently exemplified and illustrated in the life and character of our hero, we may from that ground claim for him the favoritism of the public, as indicated in Macaulay's aphorism. Nor is it necessary for us to vindicate his rightful claim to all of them. The poisoned tongue of detraction has not dared to call in question either his truthfulness or his honor, nor yet his conscientious devotion to his own convictions of right, coupled with a lofty and self-respecting detestation of all impurity, profanity, and moral coarseness. The meanness of partisan malice, which lives by defiling the purest and best of names, has not dared either to assail the unselfishness of his patriotism or to call in question the elevation and nobility of his purposes. Should some one, by a strange freak of miscalculation, come to lightly estimate Grant's soldierly qualities and to conclude that he was not a statesman, he must still concede and recognize in him the qualities that command respect. And upon these qualities his public renown rests, as upon an immovable foundation; and these less conspicuous but more excellent qualities are necessary to raise even the most admirable characteristics and conditions to their proper eminence. And because the possession of public renown is always a temptation to the harpies of detraction to attempt to defile and destroy it, the defense of true respectability is the only and the sufficient safeguard against such onslaughts. Men who appreciate true excellence like to think well of the public deeds of those whom they have learned to confide in as personally upright and virtuous, for the love of goodness.

It may seem a strange condition of things that one so admired and respected as General Grant certainly had come to be, should also appear as an object of pity; and yet this was his case to an unusual degree. It is not necessary, in this connection, to notice the petty detractions of partisan or personal gossip, since these are the common accompaniments of

exalted public positions; nor yet the rivalries of those who, striving after self-aggrandizement, were willing to discredit the purest and best as a means by which to become possessed of his position; for this, too, must be accepted as a part of the price of public honor. We have more particularly to consider the case of one who, at life's high noon having completed an unparalleled public career, found himself in a condition that both permitted and required him to begin the world anew, but who failed in the attempt, first by the treachery of those whom he trusted, and next by being laid aside by an accident more disastrous than all the fortunes of war; and, last of all, to be brought through protracted and terribly painful sufferings down to death. When General Grant had come home from his wonderful tour round the world, weighted with honors such as have fallen to the lot of few men, he was simply a private citizen without occupation. He was still at the height of his physical and intellectual manhood, apparently with nearly a quarter of a century of active life before him. He now appeared to have at last found the long-coveted opportunities to do something for his family; to engage in social and public enterprises; and to avail himself of the benefits offered by a dignified leisure. That such were his anticipations is well known; and they were honorable to him in view of his relations, his abilities, and his exalted social position: and yet how, at every point, were these reasonable expectations thwarted! How did his property melt away like the hoar-frost! how were the mementoes of his honors given into the hands of strangers, and even a temporary shadow rest upon his good name! And then, just as the darkest of these shadows seemed to be passing away—for neither reproach nor disaster can permanently oppress the good man—the signs of a malignant and incurable disease began to appear; and, through slowly-moving weeks and months the whole world was called to contemplate the illustrious sufferer steadily and surely, in intense and unremitting pain, yet without repining or faint-heartedness, going down to death. The sight of suffering naturally tends to excite pity, and its intensity is somewhat proportioned to not only the pain suffered, but also the greatness of him who suffers; and by all these conditions the tender sympathies and commiseration of the whole people were concentrated about the couch of the dying hero. The nation that had long honored him for his greatness and respected him for his integrity was now deeply moved by a common impulse of pity because of his unequaled sufferings.

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN AMERICA.

A superficial observer, looking back at the relations of labor and capital in this country during the past few years, would be little likely to deduce many elements of encouragement or hope from his forecast of the social and industrial future of the United States. And this may be said, not only because superficial views are apt to be unreliable in themselves, but

because there are certain peculiar economic heresies in America which are almost sure to find their way into careless methods of dealing with the labor problem. One of these has so many appearances in its favor that even foreigners, as a rule, adopt it without hesitation. The broad lines by which the interests of labor and capital seem to be separated; the apparently uncompromising spirit that inspires each in the assertion of principle on the one hand, and of class rights on the other; the pointedness of the language used; the sensitiveness of highly-strung individualities to personal rather than collective grievances; the tendency to attach an exaggerated importance to the interventions of force—all these seem to give a European character to the labor problem in this country, and to involve the working classes of the American continent in a common economic destiny with the toiling millions of the Old World. Yet nothing can be more fallacious than to regard capital and labor as having in the United States the same conditions of mutual relationship and development as the *doctrinaires* lay down for them in the countries of Europe. True enough it is, that in its broader aspects political economy is universal in its application. But to employ it in support of the assumption that the labor problem is the same on both sides of the Atlantic is to perpetrate the worst kind of heresy. Not only does it present itself in a different way to each of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, but the conceptions upon which its very existence as a social question is based—the conditions that make it possible and rule its changing aspects—are alike distinct and diverse in the Old World and the New.

Take for illustration the sources of social order and government. In the older countries of Europe society draws its stability, at least in the popular conception, from monarchical institutions that exist independently even of the aristocratic elements that cluster around them—from a small number of favored personalities who rule in most cases without the slightest fiction of responsibility to the people, and who, even when exercising the functions of government side by side with a constitutional assembly, claim prerogatives that have had no popular sanction. In this country the forces which maintain social order not only represent the people themselves, but are the actual products of the popular will and consciousness. In Europe the relations of society to the power of the State express a subordination of a peculiarly humiliating kind. They represent that abject tutelage to an absolute authority, and blind submission to an hereditary superiority, which characterized the earliest and most barbarous forms of human government. The real fallacy of Rousseau's "*Contrat Social*" lay not in the great Frenchman's assumption of an impossible or an unreal relation between governor and governed, but in his selection of the monarchical countries of Europe for the assertion of an original compact between royal and democratic elements for purposes of social order. Such a compact, whether express or only tacit—whether effected in the brief space of a personal covenant or during the secular evolution of an historical era—could not possibly take place, or even be conceived, amid social conditions such as those of the Old World. If

there be any material for the theory of a "social contract" it must be sought in the United States. In this country there is no pretense, not even the slightest, of an absolute authority; nor is there any claim, even by force of acquiescence, to functions of government that may be exercised apart from the people or for an indefinite time. America offers to the world the remarkable spectacle of a population which has not only agreed to be governed, but which regularly provides the machinery of its government. One might point to an act of voluntary surrender not less real or valid because it was not made by document in the presence of a notary public; and yet it is a finer and truer thing to say, that the people of the United States, instead of agreeing to be ruled, govern themselves. Here we leave the ground of the "social contract," and approach that of the ideal state.

The significance of this difference in the source of power will be seen all the more clearly when regard is paid to the tendency in old civilizations to rank property on the side of monarchy, and give it the advantage of a special protection. This tendency is seen in the greater severity of penalties for offenses against property as compared with punishments for crimes involving no breach of the rights of possession. It survives in the saying that alleges the existence of one law for the rich and another for the poor. In not a few of the countries of Europe it does actually rob the impecunious classes of much of the protection they ought to enjoy at the hands of the law. Now in the United States this tendency, though formally expressed in inherited legislation, plays no part as a factor in the labor problem. In countries where the power of the ruling class has an existing or an historical foundation in wealth, the favor extended by the law to capital is sometimes carried to the extreme of a conspiracy by legislative forms against the natural rights of whole classes of the people. Of this kind of persecution a striking illustration was afforded in the attempts made to crush incipient trades-unionism in England. Here, fortunately for the labor interest, and not less happily for the personal elements of capital, social conceptions make no distinction between the man who gives work for wages and him who pays wages for work. The so-called independence of American labor is a natural and expressive condemnation of the groveling spirit in which opportunities of toil are so often received by the downtrodden proletariat of European lands. Nor is the nearness of labor to capital in this country confined to the merely social aspects of life. A higher rate of wages—a more intense and healthily chronic dissatisfaction with spheres of toil that only partially engage the worker's powers—a feeling of greater pride and ambition that refuses to be contented with the bottom of the ladder, even should the top offer no superior pecuniary advantage—these are among the causes that in the United States lessen the number of steps which European conditions place between the position of the workman and that of the employer.

Labor in America is further favored by its isolation. In the countries of Europe advantages of locality, should they present themselves, can only in the nature of the case be temporary. The labor markets of con-

tiguous populations cannot long maintain a state other than that of completed equilibrium. Most of them occupy the same level, so far as the rate of remuneration for labor is concerned; none of them can hope to have their prospects permanently modified for the better by mere changes in the nature of migrations. It is true that very little international movement of this kind takes place, barriers of language and custom forbidding the transfer to a foreign country of labor that would promptly avail itself of suddenly favorable circumstances on its own and familiar soil. None the less quickly and surely, by the operation of causes well known to political economists, is a temporary increase in the remuneration of labor or the profit of capital brought down to the general level of the European markets. From a "leveling down" tendency of this kind America is saved, first, by the superiority of her natural resources, mediately, by her distance from the Old World. That she will hold this favorable position forever need not be contended. It is being continually undermined by economical forces that, if slow in operation, are irresistible in their effects. The equilibrium which the old countries have established among themselves must inevitably be set up in the end between Europe and the American continent. To this result every emigrant-laden ship contributes, bringing an immediate beneficence so far as the effect is contemporary, laying the foundations of economical evil so far as the end is secular and remote. Yet, until these emigration currents cease to flow from the east, American labor must continue to enjoy advantages from which the workman of Europe has been shut out by centuries of competitive exploitation.

Toil on this side of the Atlantic can also claim the added dignity of a complete freedom from the influence of distinctions of class that erect barriers between man and man. In the older civilizations well-defined relations of subordination have not only grown up in the family, but find a greater or less degree of expression in the business and social aspects of life. Now in a new country like ours, where there is, undoubtedly, a connected sequence of inherited traditions based on blood, but where the combinations of the social fabric are new, the family fails to insist upon its relations of subordination with the same harshness as that which characterizes the persistence of those relations in the older societies of Europe. The attitude of capital toward labor is consequently less authoritative and more altruistic. A tacit consciousness of equal rights and privileges robs toil, whether offered or received, of its ancient character as a benefaction. A new country, moreover, favors compromises and adjustments between so-called rival interests. Ideas are not yet crystallized into conceptions; opinions have not hardened into prejudices. Individuality, on the other hand, is less shackled by the influences which in mature countries social masses wield over their single elements; the tendency to gregarious following after agitators paid or unpaid is demonstrably weak. That the combinations of capital in this country are young is an advantage to both of the great interests under discussion. Such combinations in Europe are often the result of long secular accumulations; in too many cases they

enjoy age without possessing wisdom, and waste their formidableness in injudicious irritations of labor. The wages fund of the United States is for the most part represented by young corporations less unbending, and perhaps more cautious, or at any rate not easily lured into illegal positions or unjust attitudes by a mere love for displays of force.

The prospects of the American labor problem, full of encouragement when viewed alone, draw a special hopefulness from their association with the brilliant future which the materials and conditions of our sociological development hold out to the United States. The few ruder characteristics of a young civilization are fast melting away in the dawn of a maturer epoch for the inhabitants of this continent. Here, at any rate, the "brotherhood of man" is no longer a poetic dream. In Europe, even in a country civilized, as is England, the foreigner still occupies a place in popular conceptions little higher than that filled to old Greek imaginations by the "barbarian" who could not be understood. In this country no man shudders at the sound of a strange tongue, nor starts at the apparition of some wanderer from the shores of the Old World. And this continual entry of new anthropological elements—this settlement in our midst of races the most diverse—this absorption of foreign custom, language, and blood—this process, in fact, of the assimilation and reaction that is everywhere tending to the evolution of a certain measure of physiological uniformity out of a pronounced racial heterogeneousness—all these are so many influences continually engaged in breaking down barriers such as those which separate classes in the Old World, as well as in promoting that form of altruism which is not only one of the highest satisfactions of religious feeling, but which must ever present itself as the aim and end of all perfect civilization. And in saying this, it is by no means the ideal future of the theorists that we have in view. The time may or may not come when individuality shall have grown to be its own lawgiver, and when a practical communism will exist as intolerable of poverty on the one hand as of large accumulations of wealth on the other. In our own view it is enough to look forward to a homogeneous population without distinctions of race; to a society not yet old, but crystallized enough to yield, with healthy conceptions, a settled characteristic literature; to a higher view of international duty fitly co-existent with the new altruism at home than any that has been born from progress in the Old World; and finally, to a spirit that shall not destroy, but tolerate, the mutual necessities of capital and labor in a dual existence of perfect harmony and happy compromise.

EDMUND NOBLE.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE seems to be the all-absorbing question among the religious publicists of France and Italy. The Italian statesman Minghetti has published a rather remarkable work on this subject, with a striking introduction by Laveleye, of Belgium, who is fast coming to the front as one of the safest, as well as most advanced, thinkers of the day in this line. Minghetti, as deputy and minister of the kingdom of Italy, is peculiarly competent to write a work of this nature, for he is at once philosopher, jurist, economist, canonist, and statesman. His pages on modern science and the relation between science and religion, as well as the relation between religion and civil society, disclose the true philosopher.

Minghetti does not consider the theological faculties as the homes of ignorance, nor theology as an instrument of oppression, and he boldly declares that to neglect these matters is to lower the level of one's studies. And his friend and eulogizer, Laveleye, goes still further in declaring that any separation of these powers should be only civil, as a moral union between the two must always exist, and the separation itself should be but a measure of public right.

On the basis of these studies, Dartigue, in the "Revue Chretienne," takes up the cudgel for France in an important article treating of the solution in its two phases of liberal and radical. He declares that the French are proceeding rapidly in this matter, drawn by an irresistible current, which is increasing day by day, and which will soon acquire a volume that will overcome all resistance. With him the proposed separation is in the *logique* of ideas, and as ideas govern the world, this *logique* will, sooner or later, mold the morals and control the laws. It is to-day discussed everywhere—in the press, on the forum, and at the political gatherings. Every real democratic progress, as well as every liberal reform, shakes the edifice of the Concordat, and this, by dint of repetition, will finally lead to its fall. The point made by Dartigue in his discussion is the difference between the liberal solution and the radical one; the latter would destroy all religion, while the former would follow in the footsteps of the United States, Ireland, and, to a certain extent, of Belgium. The French Protestants are strengthened in their convictions by the course of Gladstone in this matter, and the present extensive discussion of the same question in Scotland.

In the French Chambers, which reflect the popular voice, scarcely any serious discussion takes place that does not at least touch on this matter; and while there is at present a majority against separation, this same majority is at the same time so disposed to push the Concordat to the wall as to make its friends inclined to wish its repeal. If the Radicals succeed in this effort the moment will have arrived for energetic action on the part of the Liberals.

THE FESTIVE WEEK is the title given to an account of all the religious anniversaries recently held in Berlin. The activity of the German Christians is certainly beyond all question, and it almost takes one's breath away to undertake to follow all their movements.

The young men's associations, though so recent in origin, have grown marvelously. There are now over a hundred of these, with nearly ninety thousand members. It is proposed to add to these the new feature of a fund for aid in sickness or death, and the reports from the various bodies is very encouraging.

The work of publishing and circulating Christian publications for the masses is a phenomenal success; 71,500 sheets are now issued weekly, more than double that of last year. This enterprise was recently begun amid jeers and doubts, now it is greatly prized and praised, and the money for the work seems to come by faith—no deficiencies are reported. The city mission work of Berlin is also growing greatly. Dr. Stöcker, the court-preacher, gives a great deal of time and energy to the work, and is now enlisting the theological students as teachers in the mission schools. The city mission publication office issues weekly 73,000 sermons, which are distributed largely among those who else would neither see nor hear a sermon in their lives. This mission now reports the erection of an asylum for discharged criminals, where they can be aided in their efforts to lead a new life.

The Protestant Mission for the Heathen held its anniversary before a crowded house. During the year it has done a large work in Africa and China, having baptized in the latter country 1,686, and in China 67. At an overflow meeting in the evening the leading pastors of the capital were present, and the main question discussed was that of missionary activity in the new colonies of Germany.

In a so-called pastoral conference, very largely attended, the consistorial councilor led off in the discussion of the burning question of the duel in the German universities. His address was full of historical material, and culminated in the watch-word, "Abolition of the Duel!" He advised his fellow-clergy to decline co-operation in the funeral of any one falling in a duel, as they now mostly do in that of a suicide.

A movement was made to form a pastors' league for the more effectual working of the various interests in which the Church should be engaged. Some of these were: social reform in legislation for the interests of workingmen; repose for the workingman on the Sabbath; measures against the growing propensity to drink; a higher tax on the manufacture of liquor, and a fine for public drunkenness.

Then came a conference in the interest of prison discipline, with an address on youthful criminals, and a serious admonition for our times. The greatest danger in this case was declared to be the education for crime that they receive within prison walls from contact with old offenders; therefore an earnest appeal was made for separate prisons for the young, and reformatory asylums for them when released. The week closed with the anniversary of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews.

THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE are now emerging from a long obscurity, greatly to the gratification of Oriental scholars. Within the last few decades the various lands of the Orient, especially China and Japan, have rapidly come within the range of our knowledge. But all those portions lying under the iron heel of the Turk have remained closed. The western sections of Asia Minor have been the scene of various ethnological expeditions that have afforded subjects of great interest, but the more eastern regions have not received much attention, and this has been very specially the case with Armenia. This nation has, during four centuries, preserved its intellectual, if not its political, independence, a fact which is worthy of our regard and esteem.

In their little Alpine land the Armenians have been able to preserve a portion of the treasures of classical antiquity, while in Europe the migrations of the masses have, in many instances, destroyed all the inheritance of the past. In spite of Mongolians and Tartars, Greeks and Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Russians, the Armenians have remained true to the faith and language of their fathers. Those who have so proud a past to show do not easily efface their traditions in the days of darkness; and in their case the Turkish sway seems to have made them only the more loyal to the past. Ruled by a nation so far below them in culture, the Armenians have been the more zealous within themselves; and thus, far from their native land, the monks of the Armenian cloister at Venice have protected and printed the precious relics of the Armenian writers of ancient times, while in their own mountain home a new intellectual life has sprung up that is now producing numerous literary works and sending forth some valuable periodicals.

A recent Bavarian guest among them has given to the Academy of Sciences of Munich a very interesting account of their present activity. They are now studying the principal works of foreign authors in nearly all lines of literature, and are translating the masterpieces of Goethe and Schiller, of Shakespeare and La Fontaine, into their own tongue. Their journalistic activity is quite marvelous, consisting of monthly, weekly, and daily issues, treating of the progress of all modern literature.

They are also founding schools on the model of the German Gymnasia, which are controlled by teachers who have received their training in Germany. A Normal School in Tiflis prepares teachers for the lower schools, and the fact that this work is well done is seen in the announcement that in Russian Armenia no less than eight hundred male and female teachers are employed. Many young Armenians, in their thirst for knowledge, are making great sacrifices to qualify themselves in foreign schools—mostly, those of France and Germany—for posts of honor and usefulness in their own country; and thus the day seems to be rapidly approaching when this downtrodden and much-belied nationality will lift its head as an intellectual light in the midst of the surrounding darkness of Mohammedan rule, and it may be hoped that the leaven which has been so long hidden in the meal will rise to assert its virtue in favor of Christian civilization. May the time be hastened!

Alcoholism in Denmark is just now the ruling question of discussion in that little kingdom. The Order of Good Templars has been established there, and the conflict is being carried on in genuine American style. During the five years of its existence the order has increased to ninety lodges, with about 3,500 members, though some of these are children's lodges. The attention of the public is gained by numerous placards every-where, even, a reporter says, in the railway depots; and the lodges have frequent festive meetings, with music and song. The speeches on these occasions are at times patriotic, and at times assume a religious form, and very often the cause of the order is presented as the cause of God, which shows how thoroughly alike are the Danish and American ideas on this subject.

This religious tendency of the work has caused in some quarters no little opposition, so that a branch is likely to be formed on the basis of "intelligence and science," to all of which there is no special objection if this banner will bring in more converts to the cause. The pledge of this branch will be total abstinence for one year, and not for life, as with the Templars; but even here the principle of total abstinence is regarded as the main pillar of success in spiritual and material warfare. This new order looks especially toward exerting an influence on legislation. And besides these, there are reported also in Denmark a great variety of total abstinence societies of other shades, so that the sum total of active temperance people runs up to about 25,000, which is a large number in so small a country for a cause so new and foreign to European instincts.

In Copenhagen the temperance people are establishing coffee and eating houses, in which the only alcoholic drink is beer, and this is sold only in connection with food. Five of such houses are now in operation, and they are largely patronized by the working classes, so that the capital stock has earned during the year three per cent. dividend. And the Danes say that this is a proof that these advance the cause of temperance, as only ten per cent. of the guests call for beer.

In France colonization is the question that ranks all others, and the continual repetition of the matter in all its phases proves how deep a root it has taken on the public mind. In the Chambers nearly every debate slips into it, and the coming elections will very probably hinge on it.

One very decided advantage to be gained by this tendency will be a more extended and accurate knowledge of geography on the part of the nation at large, which is, be it said, not very well posted in this science. The cause of this unceasing furor is doubtless the mortification of the country at the great defeats in the Franco-German war, and the soothing balm which these doubtful victories afford to the pride of the nation.

The raid begun some time ago with Tahiti, which had been for a season only a French protectorate, and as such was ruled, it seems, in the interest of Catholicism, notwithstanding the leaning of the natives toward Protestantism. But the Tahitians are now French citizens, and, as such, are at liberty to exercise their own free choice in the matters of religion.

When this affair was settled the "*grande nation*" turned its attention to the northern coast of Africa, and by the final annexation of Tunis now controls the whole northern coast of Africa, from the Gulf of Gabes to the confines of Morocco. This they claim as an admirable victory of the army, the navy, and the diplomats; but a good many people regard the whole movement as a simple piece of chicanery. It is, of course, a gratifying affair to make the Mediterranean a French lake, and have, within twenty-four hours of Marseilles, a magnificent French colony on the opposite shore peopled by active Frenchmen, whose energy will produce wealth and power. But France has possessed now for fifty years a large portion of this coast, and has done but little with it. Now the Church, under the active Archbishop Lavirgerie, will try its hand at the task.

In Rome the movement among the soldiers of the army toward the so-called "Military Congregation" still increases. The now famous Luigi Capellini, who was himself a soldier for eight years, has been for thirteen years busy among the soldiers of the national army stationed in Rome. At the same time he visits every summer various camps in central and southern Italy, in order in these to scatter the good seed. During this period more than a thousand soldiers have left the Catholic Church, and been accepted as members of this Protestant Military Congregation.

In this way, at the close of their three years' service, they return to their homes, taking their Bibles with them to their friends and comrades in various parts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. Capellini has been so successful in his work of elevating the common soldier that the king of Italy, over a year ago, conferred on him the Order of the Crown of Italy. This induced him to make an effort to have a more substantial locality for his work in the vicinity of most of the barracks, where he could have a hall for his religious meetings, a place for a reading-room, etc.

A goodly sum has been collected for this purpose, and his efforts now seem about to be crowned with success. He has found for sale a group of buildings that are well situated for mission purposes and other needed additions, but he requires a considerable increase in his funds before he can secure them, as the work has grown on his hands. In order to procure what he wants a company of influential Protestant gentlemen, mainly Scotchmen and Germans, have formed themselves into a committee to collect funds in aid of the military mission. They are about to present their plans in circles where they have influence, both in Italy and elsewhere, and there is little doubt of their success. The Protestant world may well aid this enterprise, as it forms the most direct and effective means of sending to all parts of the peninsula veritable missionaries in the persons of the returning soldiers of this Congregation.

The Index Expurgatorius has received the compliment of a thorough examination in a large work of two volumes, of which the latter is just before the public. It is from the pen of Professor Reusch, of the University of Bonn, and is quite a curiosity from what it reveals of the literary

acumen of the former dignitaries of the Church. The forbidden books are arranged chronologically and geographically, and the catalogue is brought down to the year 1884. It throws a new and sharper light on some of the internecine conflicts of the Church, especially those of the Jansenists, Gallicans, and Quietists.

So far as Protestant literature is concerned, it proves that, in general, the Index seemed to strike by mere chance, depending largely on the views of the prefect or the secretary of the period. Many Protestant theologians, well known as controversialists, are not mentioned in the Index, while the works of some other subordinate ones are quoted and condemned. In addition to this there are found a large number of works that in their day were of no account, and are now wholly forgotten. Most of the works of the earlier periods are in the Latin, and among the dogmatists quite a number of prominent Lutherans are not mentioned; why some are included while others are excluded no one can now imagine. Of the historians, Ranke's "History of the Popes" and Gregorius on the "History of the City of Rome" receive the honor of expurgation.

In regard to the authority of the Index in the Romish Church, the author declares that in earlier times the view of the Curia in regard to many of these works was not always considered binding, especially in France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, and even a part of Italy. But since the days of the infallibility dogma the Index has acquired increased importance, and has been considered binding. Any controversy now in the strictly churchly circles is no longer considered admissible. It is now considered the right thing to speak of the Index with great respect. The Index is now mainly useful as a manual in the control of the clergy on the part of the Curia; for other purposes it is more curious than useful.

The Policy of the Pope toward the State power has been for some time in doubt on account of his trouble with the "Journal de Rome" and its editors, both of whom have been silenced by his order for interference in and criticism of his official correspondence. The *quidnuncs* have insisted that all this means a change of policy on the part of the Pontiff. But the latest utterances of the great vicar dispel all these hopes. The Pope's own special organ, the "*Osservatore Romano*," denies any probability of a change of opinion toward the present order of things in Italy, and declares it folly to think that such a change can take place toward a government that began its career with despoliation of the papal power.

This official organ is now again very careful to assert that the Pope still maintains the fixed determination to claim his undiminished rights. And to settle the matter, it is now asserted that the Cardinal Secretary of State has sent dispatches to all the nuncios at foreign courts which absolutely deny the reports of the Paris journals, and designate them as the effort of the ultra clericals to exert a pressure on the Pope. According to this dispatch, while Leo XIII. will tolerate no opposition of certain fanatics against his highest authority, he can in no way tolerate any violence toward the inalienable rights of the Church and the Papacy.

A DECREE of the French Minister of Worship to the consistories of the Reformed Church of France is at present causing considerable consternation in that body. The minister has observed that a certain number of persons, without the official character demanded, have been supplying churches, obtaining their authority simply from the unofficial synods. This practice, he declares, is in conflict with the ordinance that no candidate can exercise spiritual functions in the Protestant worship without first having acquired the degree of Bachelor of Theology in the regular schools. The clergy are, therefore, directed to take no part in these "irregular consecrations," and not to accept them in their churches. The significance of this decree lies in the fact that the right of decision as to religious qualifications is withdrawn from the authorities of the Church and given exclusively to the civil authorities. It seems that the unofficial synod—that is, the orthodox ministers of the Reformed Church — resolved, four years ago, to grant ordination to candidates not having university diplomas, if, in other respects, they were clearly fitted for the divine office. The motive to this action was the need of preachers in many parishes, and the need of those who have faith in the Church, rather than those leaning toward secular culture as a sufficient qualification. A goodly number of godly men have been thus appointed, with no interference on the part of the State, which now suddenly springs this trap. This action clearly indicates the influence of the liberal clergy with the State officials, and a disposition to interfere with the action and liberty of the Church.

THE OLD CATHOLICS seem to hold their own and keep in good spirits, if we are to judge from their recent synod in Bonn, at which were present twenty-five clerical and forty-three lay members. Among these we notice the names of some prominent men, who have for some time been quiet, but who now seem to be renewing their activity. Bishop Reinkens is still vigorous, and addressed several public meetings. The private assemblies were for strictly official work.

The National Catholic Church of Switzerland also held its synod in Berne, with a good attendance of laity and clergy. According to the annual report of Bishop Herzog, there are forty-three congregations now organized in Switzerland, of which the largest are those in Zurich and Basle. There are now enrolled sixty clergy in this new enterprise, and there is a school in Berne with a faculty and ten students. The present condition of this Church is represented as very gratifying, but there is pressing need of financial aid for the training school.

It is quite gratifying to notice the practical activity of the Germans in the matter of missions in the newly-acquired German colonies in Africa. In the immediate vicinity of the Togo country the Bremen missionaries have a seminary, with twenty-seven pupils preparing for the work. The entire New Testament, a portion of the Old, a hymn book, the Catechism, and sundry school books are already translated into the language of the

people. German missionaries are invited to come into the Koba territory. Certain prominent Christians of Berlin have united to establish a mission in the rear of Zanzibar with a German pastorate. In Agra-Pequena there have been Germans from the Rhenish mission for forty-five years, who have establishad eight stations by great efforts. In the German colonies of Australia efforts are being made to start the missionary work in the islands of New Britain. They are also looking toward work in Emperor William's Land, and in New Guinea. The Cameroons are already pretty well provided for by the Baptists, so that the Germans will not interfere there. But every-where the demand is greater than the supply.

The Study of Theology is still on the increase throughout Germany, greatly to the satisfaction of the Church. And the motives that impel to this flood-tide are evidently serious—that is, the young men are not simply resorting to theology as a profession, as in former times, but seem rather to be impelled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. This can be seen when certain questions, such as that concerning dueling, are brought up for discussion, which they are more than ever inclined to treat from a Christian rather than a worldly stand-point. The German Universities have done their share toward unsettling the minds of young men in the matter of theological study by their excessive attention to the scientific questions of the day, and there is now a reaction from that course. Indeed there is likely to be too great a movement in this direction. Many of the students are turning with disgust from this plethora into the more practical work of preparing themselves for theological work alone, so that their teachers are urging the older men of the clergy to go before them with the good example of the *just medium* in all things.

French theologians are preparing the way for the intelligent observance of the second centennial of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the publication of several very excellent treatises on the history of French Protestantism. Of these the most noted is that of Claude, revised and enlarged by Rev. Frank Puaux, editor of the "*Revue.*" This is the best defense extant of the Protestants against the cruel edict of Louis XIV. When in all Europe the agents of that monarch audaciously denied the persecutions of which the Reformers were the victims, Jean Claude undertook the duty of telling the story in his famous work, "The Complaints of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants." Into this defense Claude threw a fiery eloquence that has lost nothing by time. And now the notes of Puaux, accompanying the text, throw light on any obscurity that might appear in the present. Another work, entitled "The Synods of the Desert," details all the acts of these famous synods held in secret from the death of Louis XIV. down to the days of the Revolution, here collected and published for the first time. This is by Edmond Hugues, of the French Academy.

Assuming that we like "to see ourselves as others see us," as a matter of curiosity, we give our readers a short extract from a German religious

periodical of the old school in regard to the style of preaching the Gospel in this country:

American preachers have a marvelous skill in preaching about all conceivable things except the Gospel pure and simple. This, to them, is too old-fashioned, and does not make a sensation. To prove the truth of this assertion one need only take up a Saturday's paper, in which are usually advertised all the subjects of the sermons of the following Sunday. As a proof of this we give a few themes treated of in a certain city of Ohio on a recent Sabbath. The Baptists announced a discourse on "Street Labor;" a Presbyterian treated of "White Houses in Heaven;" a Methodist gave the "Approaching Cholera;" and a Congregationalist, "Live Dogs and Dead Lions." Another Methodist advertised, "How We Climbed Pike's Peak." But only one single one in fourteen gave a really Gospel theme, namely, "Man Crowned in Christ, his Redeemer;" and this, doubtless, attracted the fewest hearers.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE SUCCESS OF EVANGELISTIC EFFORTS AMONG THE FRENCH CANADIANS.—The Presbyterian Church of Canada, through the Rev. C. Chiniquy, the well-known converted priest, seems to be doing a large work among the French Catholics of the Dominion. This work, which is still spreading, has been almost entirely developed in the past ten or eleven years. In 1874 there was only one French Protestant congregation in the city of Montreal, with 17 communicants; now there are eight congregations with about 400 families, almost all of whom have come out of the Church of Rome. A comparison of the figures of the report of 1885 with those of the report for 1875 of the Board of French Evangelization of the Canada Presbyterian Church shows how fruitful a field the French Catholics form for Protestant laborers:

	1875.	1885.
Number of Fields worked	8	33
Number of Preaching Stations	12	75
Number of Church Buildings	3	27
Number of Ordained Missionaries	3	20
Number of Unordained Missionaries and Teachers	14	42
Number of Families connected with the Churches, about	200	1,091
Number of Communicants connected with the Churches, about	220	1,138
Number of Pupils attending Mission Schools, about	190	707
Receipts, about	$6,459	$28,735

The number of converts the past year is almost as large as the whole French membership of 1875. Meantime many of the converts have also removed to the United States, and some have joined other Churches in the Dominion. Of the 245 new communicants received the past year 197 were French-speaking, and 48 English-speaking. In some places the services are conducted in both languages. One very encouraging feature of the work is in the attendance at Protestant schools. Says the report:

It is certainly surprising to see so many Roman Catholic families ready to send their children to Protestant schools, and especially to mission schools, where their children are constantly under the influence of religious teachings opposed to

their creed. Does not this fact show how effective has been the work of the missionaries among the people of this province, and to what extent prejudices have been removed?

Many of those who have not enough faith, courage, or light to abandon Romanism are, however, convinced that their children have nothing to lose by being placed under our religious teaching. The progress of the work has been such that, in this Province of Quebec, where the population is almost entirely Roman Catholic, we can fill up our schools with Roman Catholic children, when in other provinces, the great majority of whose inhabitants are Protestants, we could hardly find a Roman Catholic in Protestant schools or churches.

There are 21 of these mission schools, with 26 teachers and 707 scholars, of whom 223 are the children of Catholic parents, and four fifths of the remainder children of recent converts from Romanism. The report takes note of the fact, that while in the Province of Quebec the time was when the Bible was almost an unknown book among the French, to-day it is a source of great influence in every parish.

Progress in the New Hebrides.—This group of islands used to be reckoned among the most savage and hopeless of missionary fields; but Presbyterian missionaries of Canada and Scotland have, in the course of a generation, firmly established a Christian civilization among these cannibal tribes, and every year brings notes of progress. Some of the islands have been entirely Christianized; others are in a transition state, and in some heathenism still flourishes. One of the devoted pioneers who died in the field brought about the conversion of one of the islands, and upon his monument is this inscription: "When he came here there were no Christians; when he left there were no heathen." Eleven of the islands are occupied by thirteen missionaries, representing the Scottish Free Church, the Australasian, and the Canadian Presbyterian Churches. The oldest missionary, the Rev. John G. Paton, was appointed in 1858. The central part of the group is now the most fruitful. Efate and Nguna are giving rich returns for the labor expended in the past. Tongoa is the latest island entered. A church of 12 members has been formed on it. In Efate about 70 renounced heathenism last year. Only six miles from Efate lies an island which has not yet been evangelized. Some teachers went to it with the intention of remaining over-night. They were warned, however, to leave, and told that if they stayed they would be cut to pieces, and were shown the tomahawks. In Ancityum 32 new members were received into Church fellowship. The birth rate in this island is far exceeded by the death rate. Last year there were only 47 births to 90 deaths. Civilization seems to be fatal to the savages of the South Seas as well as to the aborigines of Australia.

The Wesleyan Mission in Ashanti Re-established.—As long ago as 1839, when Ashanti was one of the most powerful nations on the West African coast, the Wesleyans undertook to establish a mission in Kumasi, but little or nothing was accomplished. Wars and difficulties of various kinds occurred to interrupt the work, and it has not been practicable to resume it until recently. Sir Garnet Wolseley destroyed the old despotism

when he sacked Kumasi in 1874, but another oppressive system rose in its place which a gradual revolution has now broken down. Province after province has revolted and set up a separate government, until the old empire, compact and powerful as it was, has become an aggregation of petty states, rejoicing in their liberty and independence. It is thought that the old order can never be restored. Under these circumstances the Wesleyan Society has deemed it wise to re-enter Ashanti, and a line of stations has been formed reaching to Kumasi in answer to earnest requests from the people of various towns. The first station is Amuaful, where the people have erected a bamboo chapel. The next is at Bekwai, a few miles distant. It was formerly one of the most important towns and provinces south of Kumasi. Says the Rev. W. Terry Coppin, of the West Coast District, who visited it recently on his way to Kumasi:

Though destroyed in the 1874 expedition it has been almost entirely rebuilt, and still wears that air of stateliness which others have remarked. The king, an amiable, pleasant, dignified, handsome fellow, has not long been upon the stool. When chosen, a little more than twelve months ago, he had to publicly and solemnly swear not only to abolish human sacrifices, but to maintain the mission. To one unacquainted with the recent changes in Ashanti this remarkable action of the people seems scarcely credible. The stability of his throne depends upon his fidelity to his oath. He gave us a state welcome, and all our interviews with him were of a most agreeable and satisfactory character. The substance of his public and official speech was this: "I like the mission. I do not mean to play with it. Having received it into my town, it is my intention to support it. Children shall be sent to the school, and people shall have liberty of worship." The mission compound the people have built for the Rev. Robert Jones, the native minister, greatly pleased me. It is more commodious than their own, and in a good situation. Of course it is built in the pure Ashanti style, namely, an open yard with surrounding apartments. These occupy three sides, and the school-chapel the fourth side of the inclosure. Doors and windows are luxuries; so the privacy of the apartments, which are perfectly open to the yard, is secured by dropping a mat screen or cloth curtain.

On leaving Bekwai I noticed several skulls, bleached white by the sun, lying on a small bank of wild vegetation. Why they were placed there I could not learn from my people, and did not care to ask the towns-people. In about an hour we reached Dengyiasi. The king having had good notice of the time of our projected visit, had called in the chiefs and their people from the villages and plantations, in order to welcome us and hear our palaver; hence there was a much greater display here than anywhere else; almost every man was in his best cloth and carrying a musket. The king sat under an immense umbrella made partly of scarlet flannel, and his chiefs sat on each side of him. Their followers ranged themselves round them, and made up a scene that was picturesque and somewhat imposing. It was a Kumasi grand reception on a small sale. Amid a deafening din of drums and gongs, horns and handbells, we went to pay our respects in the customary manner. Waving our hands to the principal personages and shaking hands with the king, we completed the round and retired to the shade of a neighboring tree. In a little while the whole assembly was in motion. As we had saluted them so they defiled before us and gave their greetings. Later on, having rested and refreshed ourselves, we had another public interview. King Dome's reply was as favorable as Karikari's at Bekwai. Before separating he said: "You have chosen us, we have chosen you, so you must not hurry away, but stay over Sunday with us." This we agreed to do. The service on Sunday afternoon, under the magnificent twin tree which stands in the main street, was deeply interesting. The king and many of his people were present. What gratified me more than any thing was the school. Between thirty and forty little Ashantis were being catechized by Mr. Hayfron. As I looked at their chubby ebony cheeks, and black,

sparkling eyes, and heard them say the Lord's Prayer and sing about Jesus in their native tongue, I thought and felt how blessed it was to know that though proud and cruel chiefs thought them to be but "mere leaves of trees, droppings of the forest," yet even these, the least of His little ones, were unspeakably precious in his sight. The school-chapel stands at the top of the spacious street, and is the most conspicuous object in the town. Plain and simple enough to a European or civilized African, it is a triumph of art to those who freely, gladly built it. Just behind it a double mission compound is being erected for the agent. Already, in addition to building the chapel and mission premises, these people, once so terrible, have contributed £8 2s. toward the agent's salary. "Verily," as a brother remarked at the missionary meeting last February, "God is beginning to reign in Ashanti." Dengyiasi lies south-west of Kumasi. Having to go to Dadiasi, which lies south-east, I resolved to proceed, first to Kumasi, and from thence to Dadiasi. Anxious as I was, if possible, to resume work in Kumasi, in order to make it a base of operation for more northerly movements, yet I had little hope of accomplishing any thing in that blood-stained capital. From what I had learned their civil and political state was such that their minds were filled but with one thought, namely, how to get back their former power and riches. This proved indeed to be the case, for when our messenger who went to announce our proposed visit returned he brought a message to this effect: "The head chief is pleased to hear the white man is coming. He hopes he will stay six months, put a king on their throne, and bring the country to peace." I arrived in Kumasi on the Tuesday, and left on the Saturday. At the two interviews with the council I could not get them to talk about any thing else than their political misfortunes. If I had played the part of king-maker, and made the vain promise of using my influence to get back the revolted people, whom they enumerated one by one, they might then, as they said, have considered and taken the mission. To build, however, on such a foundation as that, even if practicable, is to build on sand. Much as they hate the conquerors of their country in their hearts, and despise the Gospel, of which they are not ignorant, yet they would use both if they could gain their political ends thereby. It was only to give them national prestige that they ever received the mission, and as soon as they saw that it began to affect their people the edict went forth that no Ashanti must become a Christian. Insufferably proud, insolent, obstinate, and untruthful, the few remaining chiefs of Kumasi will yet have to be more greatly humbled before they are willing to let the people immediately under them enjoy the blessings that are now descending upon their fellow-countrymen in other towns and provinces of Ashanti. Twelve months ago Mr. Hayfron wrote to me that half the city was already in ruins, and that, at the present rate of decline, in two or three years little more would be left than the vestiges of a few habitations to mark the site where Kumasi once stood. Since then matters have gone from bad to worse. Its young king has died, as they believe, by the power of the fetich; most of its remaining nobles have been killed in battle or by epidemics; and its very villages have refused to serve it.

At Dadiasi the people are to build a chapel and pay $80 a year toward an agent's salary. As he left this town Mr. Coppin saw its Golgotha, an attachment which few Ashanti towns are free from. Here the people rose against the royal family and put an end to them in order to do away with human sacrifice.

Bishop William Taylor's Mission.—In our September number we stated that the Bishop's plan was to establish some six or eight stations with his present force. Dr. Summers had made a trip to the interior about 300 miles from the coast, and had selected sites which he deemed suitable for industrial and school stations. The Bishop and party were waiting at Loanda the return of the governor from the south before setting out for the interior. A letter from the Rev. Levin Johnson, dated

St. Paul de Loanda, July 15, two months later than the letters we spoke of in our last, has been received by the editor of the "North-western Christian Advocate," which gives the following interesting facts:

About seven weeks ago Bishop Taylor, with a force of five men, started for the interior to explore suitable places for mission stations. A letter has been received from him giving favorable reports. He wants the party to start for the interior as soon as practicable. All those assigned for the interior will leave within ten days. The Bishop stated in his letter that after a prayerful night he decided to divide the company as follows:

Loanda, C. L. Radcliff and Eli Chatelain. Nhangepepe, A. E. Withey, wife, and four children; W. H. Mead, wife, and six children; W. P. Dodson, and C G. Rudolph. This station lies about 270 miles from the coast. Pungo Andongo, Joseph Wilks, wife, and daughter, eighty miles from Nhangepepe. Malange, S. J. Mead, wife, and niece; C. W. Gordon, and Levin Johnson. This place is situated about 400 miles from the coast, and is a principal caravan station in this part of the interior. Natives from the extreme interior come to this place with their rubber, ivory, etc. Kiok nation, probably at Casangue, C. L. Davenport and wife and M. C. M'Lean. This station is about 100 miles inland from Malange.

The past four months have indeed been a season of severe trials and patient waiting. To most of us the acclimatizing process has tended to draw us nearer the Lord—in fact, it has been a purifying furnace. Your correspondent seems to have had his share, and almost despaired of ever getting acclimatized. For about four months we had a severe siege, beginning on the vessel at Sierra Leone, and continuing for a month on the water and three months in Loanda. We thought we should have to return to America, but during the past few weeks our health has greatly improved, and we have concluded to try the interior, which they report is healthier than on the coast. At present the company seem to have a good degree of health. It seems wonderful to us that the children and the rest have been so remarkably preserved from death. Perils by sea and perils by the African fever, and yet alive and cheerful and hopeful. Truly our heavenly Father has protected us.

The party will take the steamer from Loanda up the Quanza River to Dondo, the head of navigation, a distance of over 200 miles from this place. From Dondo to the stations they will travel caravan style.

A letter from Bishop Taylor dated Nhangepepe, June 19, has been received, in which he says that Nhangepepe will be one of the most important stations. He had surveyed two thousand acres of good land for a farm. It would require, he thought, but little effort to grow food enough for the mission families. He says he wants a "dozen or two of suitable persons" to arrive in Loanda about next May, for mission work.

THE MAORIS OF NEW ZEALAND.—Fully three fourths of the New Zealand aborigines are professing Christians, of whom the great majority are connected with the Church of England. Reports to the Church Missionary Society speak, as in former years, of the decrease of the Maori population and of the scattering of their communities. Their usual avocation, digging for kauri gum, requires them to spread themselves over large districts, and usually a kaaniga whose nominal population is a hundred cannot muster more than forty or fifty during eight months in the year. The parishes of the native ministers are, therefore, large and difficult to manage, especially when it is remembered that they have to eke out their small salaries by the raising of crops. Archdeacon Clarke

says intemperance has almost disappeared from among the Maoris, but the white men are introducing horse-races, and thus tempting them both to drink and to gamble. They are also peculiarly liable to be misled by impostors. If one proclaims himself a prophet with gift of miracles or healing, he can easily draw away the unstable. Mormon missionaries have led away some of them. The Hauhau superstition caused a very large defection some years ago, but it has almost died out.

Polygamy and Christian Missions.—The question of how to deal with polygamy has been a very serious one in heathen countries, where law and custom permit a husband to have more than one wife. Missionaries have almost universally required a polygamist, on being received into Church, to put away all his wives but one. In many cases this entails hardship and suffering on innocent persons. That which in heathenism most often leads to a second marriage is the failure of the first to have issue. The second wife, therefore, is often the one who has children, and she and her offspring have to be put away. The Madura mission of the American Board has recently adopted a resolution to the effect that converts who have in heathenism contracted polygamous marriages in accordance with caste laws, may, in exceptional cases, be admitted as communicants without putting away either wife. [!!!] Archdeacon Johnson, of the Niger mission of the Church Missionary Society, writes that one of the great trials of that mission is the polygamy question. Writing of Onitsha, on the upper Niger, he says:

> We have had to mourn over some whose names were taken off the books on account of polygamy. By a remarkable coincidence, while we were full of the subject, and were dwelling upon it in the Bible-class room and from the pulpit, copies were received of the society's Minutes on Polygamy, drawn up by the committee in 1857. We felt our hands indirectly strengthened by them in dealing with an evil which, unless stamped out immediately by the use of strong measures, would have the tendency to affect the converts to an alarming extent. Three persons were excommunicated for being polygamists, two of them after the most moving appeals had been made to the congregation, pointing out the act to be in direct violation of the law of the Christian Church. One of these cases was peculiarly aggravating. The offender was not only a full communicant, but also a leader, district visitor, member of the Parochial Committee, and one of the appointed evangelists for Obotsi. So completely was he under the control of Satan that he would listen to no remonstrances from any one, but persevered in the step which he had taken until he had fully carried it out. His name was accordingly struck off the rolls, and he was stripped of all his offices in the Church. But, if he had any happiness at all, it was of a very short duration; for in less than a month after marriage (they were married after the native style) the second wife, for some cause or other, left him and returned to her home in the interior. He made ineffectual efforts to bring her back; at length, wearied out by her determined refusal to return to him, he made up his mind to give her up. Then it was that he felt inclined to come back to the Church and resume his former position in it. He made quite sure that he would be received with open arms, but he was soon undeceived, for I declined to re-admit or re-instate him until he had gone through the usual native form of divorce and expressed publicly his unfeigned sorrow for the offense he had given to the Church. I have determined to make it difficult for him, and those like him, to return to full membership, in order that the rest may value their privileges and be afraid to offend. The idea was current that offenders might be put out of Church for only three months;

hence there was something like a thrill of horror ran through the members when I declared the probability of some being kept out for a year or more, according to the nature of their offense and the value of the sincerity of their repentance.

The archdeacon also speaks of another case which he confesses was a "poser" to him. It was at Obotsi. One man was objected to as a candidate by the brethren because he had more than one wife.

He was one of the elderly ones, and appeared to hold a good social position. His explanation of his position is as follows: "My first wife is old and in feeble health, and as I am frequently absent on my farms, I was obliged to take a younger one, who would both attend to the sick one in my absence and prepare my food against my return from the field. Shall I put the first one away when she is old and sickly? And if I send away the younger one, who is to attend to the sick wife and look after my house? No, I regard the younger now as my real wife. I would allow the other to remain because she is old and in bad health, and requires attention." This case was a poser to me. My advice was sought, and for a time I hardly knew what to advise. At length I concluded, much against my wish, not to admit the man as a candidate for fear of establishing a precedent which might be afterward taken advantage of to an inconvenient extent. Just before baptism I brought the matter before the bishop, who distinctly advised that the man should not yet be baptized. We were all sorry for him, but felt, at the same time, that the law did not admit of a compromise.

The Omu of Onitsha.—Archdeacon Johnson writes of an event at Onitsha, on the upper Niger, interesting in itself and of importance to the mission which the Church Missionary Society is maintaining in that place. One of the leading women has assumed the title of omu, or queen, of Onitsha. This title is not given to the wife of the king, nor to any of the royal family, but is hereditary, limited to a particular family, from which, however, it may be sold and transferred to another family, if the heiress elects so to do. The omu is a powerful leader, the fountain of all honor to the women, and in absolute control of the trade in which the women are engaged. No law can be passed by the king and his council affecting the rights and liberties of her sex without her approval. But the ceremony of installation is so costly that few are prepared to meet the customary expenditures. The present omu has, it seems, been preparing to assume the office for years. She was known to the missionaries as a leader in the various heathen observances, and they imagined that her powerful influence was being used adversely to the mission; but on ascending the throne she, to their surprise, declared her will and pleasure to be that hereafter every woman attend church, and that traffic cease on Sunday.

She showed that she was in earnest, for the very first Sunday after her coronation she came to church in state, followed by a large number of women, many of whom were noted idolatresses who had never entered the house of God before. Since then a more regular attendant we have not had than the omu. I have been credibly informed that so soon as other ceremonies shall have been gone through by her, and the appointment to subordinate offices completed, it is in her contemplation to enter into an understanding with the neighboring tribes to enforce her decrees about Sunday trading. A penalty will be attached to an infraction of the law, namely, the confiscation of every article exposed for sale by any woman of Onitsha on the Lord's day.

The mission is prosperous. Near the close of the year 83 persons were baptized, and since 1881 about 250 have received that sacrament.

A New Mission in Neglected Islands.—On the west coast of British Burmah and in the Sea of Bengal lie the groups known as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The latter are the most southerly, and are separated from the former by the Ten Degree Channel. These groups are known to most people, if at all, as penal settlements. The Andamans are the abode of a very degraded race, to whom no one has ever attempted to preach the Gospel, while the few attempts made to establish Christianity in the Nicobars have failed. Now the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has undertaken to establish missions in both groups. The Andamanese, who are not a numerous people, are said to be dying out. They are Negritos, and have no form of worship though they have religious beliefs. They believe in a Great Being, the author of all good, and in three chief evil beings, with many inferior ones. Their paradise, whither disembodied spirits go, is under the earth. It is a land of rest. Their hell, where the wicked go, is a place where bitter cold is the punishment inflicted for remedial purposes. The inhabitants of the Nicobars are of the Malay race. Several attempts have been made to evangelize them, but only the ruins of Catholic and Moravian missions remain. The climate is of a deadly character, and the people have been noted for their savagery and piracy.

The Work of Missionaries on the Congo.—The Rev. George Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, has made an important expedition up the Congo and on some of its great tributaries, an account of which and of his discoveries will form an interesting feature of the geographical section of the British Association at its annual meeting in Aberdeen. He proceeded as far on the Congo as Stanley Falls, and ascended the Mobangi and Lubilash Rivers to a considerable distance. The Mobangi, which enters the Congo at a point near the equator, will probably prove to be the longest and most important of the tributaries of the great river. Mr. Grenfell ascended it to a point 400 or 450 miles from its mouth, and found it at that distance over 600 yards wide, with a mean depth of 25 feet. The current runs at the rate of from 80 to 100 feet a minute, which indicates an immense volume of water. Mr. Grenfell believes that it is the lower part of the Welle, whose course and outlet have hitherto been an African mystery. The Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell writes, is far more populous than any equal length of the Congo, and, to his mind, the country is more promising. True, the people are wild, but then his visit was that of the first white man they had seen. In ascending the river (and his wife and fifteen months old baby were on board) Mr. Grenfell met with not a few difficulties from the hostility of the natives, and had it not been for his energetic action on one occasion he and his party would probably have come to grief. His way down the river was, however, most encouraging; plenty of food, and not a sign of hostility. He hopes to make the trip again, and has no doubt that he will be able to report peaceable and friendly receptions every-where. He may also be able to penetrate farther toward the valley of the Shari, the great tributary of

Lake Chad. Unfortunately, Mr. Grenfell states, the confluence of the Mobangi with the Congo is just within French territory, though it is not so represented either on the map in Mr. Stanley's last book or on the latest map of the Royal Geographical Society. The commercial importance of Mr. Grenfell's discovery cannot be exaggerated. Whether the Mobangi is the Welle or not, it must form an important connecting link between the basin of the Congo and the basins of the Niger, the Shari, and the Nile. Mr. Stanley has always maintained that the region lying between the Congo and the Nile is probably the richest and most promising in Africa, and his belief seems likely to be amply confirmed. Besides the Mobangi, Mr. Grenfell has explored 300 miles of river-courses debouching into the Congo. The first half of Mr. Grenfell's account of his trip is printed in the August number of the "Missionary Herald," of London. At Bangala he began to see evidences of cannibalism, which he had hitherto refused to believe of the Congo peoples. But the natives in some places appeared to regard the killing and eating of human beings as a perfectly innocent and natural custom, and resented the interference of members of the expedition. Mr. Grenfell mentions nine places as suitable for stations, of which three are already occupied by the American Baptist Missionary Union.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Professor Ladd, of Yale Theological Seminary, has a noteworthy paper in the "Andover Review" for July, entitled "The Question Restated." He deals with the inspiration of the Scriptures, and maintains that "the real question about the Bible can no longer be stated or discussed as a so-called theory of inspiration. . . . The question of the inspiration of the writers of the Bible must be merged in the larger question, 'What is the Bible?'" His drift may be gathered from the following excerpts: "The Christian Church, acting in the different divisions of its ancient domain, without a fully self-conscious purpose, and yet with commendable tact and insight, distinguished in the course of its development what books it would receive into the circle of its sacred Scriptures. But this process began with assuming certain writings to be sacred which the Jewish Church had considered such. . . . It is quite impossible, then, to speak of inspiration as belonging to the Bible, that is, to a collection of several score of widely differing writings, without attributing such inspiration to the mind of the Church that collected the writings. . . . In other words, a number of diverse compositions can in no sense be ascribed to one source, unless some discrimination as to *what* composition shall enter the number be exercised by that source." This matter of inspiration thus, the writer holds, depends on the question, "What is the Bible?" This paper, very radical in some of its conclusions, is the herald of another which is soon to come.

In the same number the Rev. Edwin M. Bliss describes Kurdistan and the Kurds. The social organization of the Kurds is seen to be singularly like that of the Highland clans of Scotland. The permanence of Eastern habit and nature is seen in the declaration that the northern Kurds do not vary much from those that Xenophon described: "Brutal, ferocious, savage to the last degree," is the sentence in which Mr. Bliss portrays them. This paper is an excellent example of what missionaries can do by studies of the people. To know a people is one of the best preparations for successful missionary work. Rev. W. Forbes Cooley, in "Side Lights from Mormonism," writes wisely of the difficulties of the Mormon problem. He particularly emphasizes the little-known fact that the Mormons are not afraid of the open Bible; that they challenge contradiction and disproof from the word. All who have heard the abler Mormon preachers will bear testimony to the ability and skill with which they handle the Scriptures. And this is really one of the chief obstacles in reaching them. Much is made, also, of the contrast in the minds of foreign converts between the lines of the functionaries of the established Churches and the laborious Mormon missionaries. The writer also holds, that missions among the Mormons fail because the Mormon missionaries are really better fitted for their work than are the Christian preachers sent among them for theirs. This paper is full of matter for thought, and is startling in the force of some of its statements. The statement of "Progressive Orthodoxy" is editorially continued; and the "Atonement" is considered in this July number. With the greater part of this statement every well-trained minister of our Church will find himself familiar. In its setting forth of the extent and nature of the atonement the writer is thoroughly Arminian. He only goes beyond us in intimating, without stating, the necessity of a second probation of those who have not had opportunity for knowing God in Christ. But there is another way out of this difficulty than that of a second probation. God can save men through his Spirit, bringing to them his grace for faith and righteousness according to the light they have. Those who follow it may be accepted; those who reject it may be rejected. It only requires the admission that God will adjust his punishment to all the circumstances of each case.

The August number is not, in its contributed articles, the equal of the July. One turns from these to the editorial paper on Eschatology, in which the most interesting part is devoted to the question of the fate of those who have never heard the Gospel. The writer holds, that the condemnation of the heathen world would be a terrible impeachment of the justice of God. The writer concludes, that "God reveals himself in Christ to all men. Those who have the Gospel while in the body are in the decisive period. . . . For those who do not know God in Christ during the earthly life it seems to us probable that the knowledge they need will be given after death." Thus the "Andover" favors decidedly the doctrine of a second probation. We commend this statement of the new eschatology to the study of our ministers. It is enough now to say, that we have no need to get rid of our teachings as to the heathen by such a

supposition. The writer admits the danger of this view in a prudential sense, but shows how much more dangerous, in his opinion, it is to hold that the heathen are all lost.

The contributed articles in the September Andover are all of much interest. Rev. Samuel W. Dike continues his study of "The Religious Problem of a Country Town." This series of papers from a Vermont town show that a man of brains is strong anywhere. The editorial feature is the statement of the work of the Holy Spirit, which does not appear to be as well thought out as the papers which have preceded it.

In the July "Presbyterian Review" we note that the "Return of Jesus the Christ" has a prominent place. We have long held that there is more than one view which has scriptural support, and that no one of the accepted doctrines answers all the scriptural demands. But the Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D.D., has a definite theory which excludes the hope of converting the world, which expects good and evil to continue to the last, and which makes it the chief hope of the Christian minister to preach the Gospel as a witness without hope of converting the world, looking to Christ's return to make all things right. Dr. Briggs's "Criticism of the Revisers of the Old Testament" appears to proceed as if they were at work on a new translation.

Dr. Spaeth, in giving in the July number of the "Lutheran Church Review" a dissertation on Phebe the Deaconess, concludes his paper with an account of the institution of deaconesses as it exists in the German Church, taking the ground that its revival is a necessity in competition with the Roman Church, an opinion which is gaining ground outside the Lutheran communion. As a theological curiosity we commend the "Thesis on the Subject of Baptism and Regeneration" by D. H. Geissinger, M.D., to the careful study of our readers. It shows the severity of the bonds which are forged by the sacramentarian theology. We quote: "In the infant and the adult, the faith that renders the sacrament salutary is, as to its nature and essence, precisely the same. . . . In the infant, faith is wrought by the Holy Ghost through the sacrament itself." And much more like this: "The child, borne to Christ in the arms of believing parents or sponsors, is unable to resist the operations of the Holy Spirit which are brought into activity within it through the sacrament!" Then God's love, manifested through the Spirit, lies dormant in a child's heart until sponsors bring it to baptism!

The effort to create an American Roman Catholic literature meets with good success if the "Catholic World" be any proof. The August number leads off with a paper by Bishop Chatard on "Herbert Spencer's Enigma." The Roman bishop is a fair and strong critic of Mr. Spencer's "Doctrine of the Unknowable." In "Falsehood as a Moral Agent" a Catholic lady claims that much of the criticism of her Church is so poorly based as to be practically falsehood. Her effort, however, is to be fair,

and she writes well of the faults of her own Church in attempting to modify science and change history.

In the September number a very interesting summary of the "Teaching of Thomas Aquinas on Temperance" is given. From this it appears that he taught that "the use of wine is not in itself unlawful, nevertheless it may become unlawful under other circumstances, either from its being hurtful to the drinker, or from excess in quantity, or because it is taken in spite of a vow to the contrary, or because it is a scandal." The mediæval saint surely finds reasons enough why no one should use wine in our day. An anonymous writer in "A Protestant Hero," attempts to show that the death of Coligny was due to a mob roused to frenzy by his cruelties.

"The American Catholic Quarterly Review" for July is very able, but in its historical articles manifests the true Roman temper in defending every thing done by "Holy Mother Church." In the opening paper on "The Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," by Rev. S. J. Ming, will be found much very acute criticism. J. G. Shea, LL.D., returns to the well-worn theme, "The Vagaries of Protestant Religious Belief." Dr. Braun, one of the foremost American theologians of the Roman Church expounds the "Catholic Doctrine of Baptism" in such a way as to increase the Protestant disgust for the adjuncts of salt, oil, and spittle which are found in the Roman ordinance. There is also in this number a very strong paper by Thomas Power O'Connor on the "Recent Crisis in England." An anonymous critic finds little good in the "Revised Translation of the Bible."

"The Baptist Quarterly Review" has passed under new management, assumes a new and beautiful dress, and manifests increased vigor. It is edited by R. S. MacArthur and Henry C. Vedder. The sketch of the development of "New England Theology," by Prof. Heman Lincoln, D.D., is of the highest order. It admits the indebtedness of the Baptists to Jonathan Edwards, through Andrew Fuller. Henry C. Vedder in this July number sets forth the reforms demanded in theological education. These reforms must begin, according to the writer, by re-enforcing the ministry with better men. His criticisms of the present theological seminary education are very caustic. Dr. Conant finds in his review of the Revision somewhat to praise and somewhat more to condemn.

The growing consensus between extreme Unitarianism and Judaism is manifested in the appearance in the August number of the "Unitarian Review" of an article by Claude G. Montefiore, entitled "A Justification of Judaism." The writer disputes the commonly accepted opinion that Judaism ceased to have close connection with the general history or thought more than eighteen centuries ago. He admits that Judaism has natural difficulties to contend with in the way of extending its teachings. He holds that just as Christianity has developed to meet modern condi-

tions, so Judaism has developed in the directions where its inadequacy is most generally set forth. He has hope that Judaism may in the future serve as a creed of reconcilement and mediation. His reasons for believing this are substantially that Judaism teaches a mean between Trinitarianism and Deism. It protests against the insufficiency of an ethic which ignores God. It is unfriendly toward dogmas which are with difficulty harmonized with reason. One of the first requisites with dogma is simplicity. Simplicity does not necessarily imply fewness in number; what it does imply is rationality and plasticity. The majority of the Jews would not regard the integrity of the Pentateuch or the advent of the Messiah as essential. To the modern Jew, God is not only the source of nature, but he is in nature. The continuity and the divinity of the world are maintained; the laws of nature, no longer accidental, flow necessarily from the single and infinite divine source, as the eternal laws of God. The paper is an exceedingly able one, and well worth attentive reading as showing the drift of modern philosophical Judaism. There is also in the same number an exceedingly well written paper, by Rev. W.R. Alger, on "Dead Tradition and Living Insight." It contains much spiritual truth, especially when it says, "that many attractive externally religious acts are often merely dramatic symbols of religion changed into mechanical substitutes for religion;" but the paper also shows the traces of that characteristic New England bigotry which will not get near enough to its religious neighbor to understand what he believes.

The September number contains the second part of Mr. Montefiore's "Justification of Judaism." It maintains the high level of the previous article. There is also a very strong refutation of Agnosticism by the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., under the title "The Infinite Knowable."

Our old friend "The New Englander," whose sub-title is now "The Yale Review," has a table of contents in its September number redolent of the musty days of the antique Review. Most of the articles would be as interesting at one time as another, with the exception of an attempt by Fisk P. Brewer to show that prohibition is not desirable. It is hopelessly weak, and seems written laboriously in the interest of the liquor traffic. It ignores the right of society to protect itself against the element of destruction. The article on "Protestant Vaticanism" is vigorously written, and smacks strongly of the new theology. It is evidently from the pen of one of those new theologians who believes in the liberty of dissent, but not of assent.

The "Nineteenth Century" for August contains an intelligent paper on "Aristocracy in America." It asserts that "the main source of American aristocracy is in the Senate, and there it get its chief support. The tree of aristocracy has its roots in the Senate, and the great trunk of it and the branches of it grow and flourish from unlimited taxation. The judicial branch of the American government was made exclusively aristocratic beyond any taint of popular control. The toryism of the American

Supreme Court would comfort the soul of Lord Eldon. The American legislature is well protected by the constitution against the people. The real conflict between the antagonistic forces of the American government has hardly yet begun. It will burst into a storm when the President and the Senate, banded together in defense of prerogative, shall resist a resolute House of Representatives fresh from the people and bearing from the people a message of reform. In that contest the stopping of the supplies will be the conquering weapon, and prerogative must yield, as it had to yield in England."

In comparing the English and American Reviews one is struck by the greater fullness and painstaking of the reviewers and essayists. While our Magazines are decidedly superior to the English popular Magazines, their Reviews are decidedly superior to ours in the solidity and painstaking quality of the papers. There is a broader literary scope also in the English Reviews. For instance, the July number of the Quarterly gives a leading place to Lord Lytton's "Glenaveril," a poem which has attracted but little attention here beyond the conviction that it is not equal to "Lucille," and the general expression of the critics that it just misses the true poetic quality. But the Quarterly gives it a long notice, and makes it "a great, beautiful, and singularly original poem." The English Reviews, also, are less given to the study of the taking and the timely, though they are never without strong presentations of current questions. Thus following each other in this able Review are articles on Fenelon, the Channel Islands, Lord Macaulay, and Elijah Impey; Pitt's Foreign Policy; English Society and its Historians; the Electress Sophia; the First Christian Council; the Game Laws of England; and the Gladstone Ministry. This is a fair example of the scope of one of the great Reviews in a single number.

We greatly value the "Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner and Welford. We know of no greater aid to scholarly and intelligent ministers than this sterling publication. Looking back over recent issues we find the paper in the April number on the "Site of Paradise" by Canon Rawlinson. He does not seem to have heard of the New Theory which places the garden at the North Pole, but finds it in Mesopotamia. Another noticeable article is, that by the Rev. J. Barmby on the "Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews." His view of the authorship is substantially that "no man knoweth," but that it is essentially Pauline. In the July number the most noteworthy paper is by the Rev. Henry N. Bernard on "The Power of Satan—Some Thoughts on a Difficult Problem." "A Study of the Elder Brother of Prodigal," is the most attractive in the August issue.

In turning from the Reviews to Magazines one feels as if going from a musty house to a sunny and stirring out-door life. The Reviews smell of the cloister; but the Magazines are full of the life of to-day, going back to the past only to make the openness and joy of the present more vivid.

Age gives the precedence to Harper's, which keeps its well-earned place in spite of its more youthful competitors. In the number for August there are some excellent portraits of the prominent Socialists in the German Parliament. That pretty town, Southampton, L. I., has new dignity given it in being described by A. A. Hayes as "A New England Colony in New York." To those who have not traveled in England the paper on "The Characteristics of English and American Railways" will be rich in interest. Many curious facts are given in the well-illustrated paper on "The Decorative Sentiment in Birds." In both the September and October issues the first place is given to an account of Labrador by C. H. Farnham, who has explored that *terra incognita*, and has hair-breadth escapes to recount as well as topography to describe. It is not a pleasant thing to find "A Glass of Beer" so prominently described as in the article by G. Pomeroy Keese. While the paper is well written and superbly illustrated there is little hint of any sympathy with the growing conviction that while the making of beer may be a great American industry it is a great American curse. William Hamilton Gibson returns to his early love in this number with exquisite engravings of Back-Yard Weeds and Flowers in the Middle States and New England. And he writes of them as charmingly as he draws. Connecticut is given an honorable place in being awarded "The Model State Capitol." But even in this beautiful building the sham was present, as those will remember who recall the sinking pillars of the dome and the extraordinary expedient by which the crumbling of the columns was remedied. Mexican politics receive intelligent treatment at the hands of T. S. Van Dyke.

We are not disposed to underrate the services of William Lloyd Garrison to the antislavery cause, but we would that those who were ready to extinguish the Church for a supposed lack of sympathy with that cause were better informed. Colonel Higginson's sketch of the life and work of Garrison in the August Century is brilliantly written, and the account of his early life by his sons is full of interest. The portrait is the best we have ever seen, showing the kindly as well as the stern side of Mr. Garrison's nature. The war papers continue to command popular interest, and those by General Grant will be read with reverence as well as interest.

Dr. Holmes's new story in the Atlantic discusses some curious phases of mental movement and social peculiarity. The Atlantic is the strongest magazine we have in purely literary interest. It needs to be this in order to keep pace with its illustrated competitors. It seems odd that any one should gravely discuss the question, "Should a College Educate?" But Mr. E. R. Sill holds a conservative position as to the changes proposed in order to make college education more practical. He thinks that the experiment of substituting modern languages for the classics is not *educating* as many as the older method. Horace Scudder has a pleasing paper in both the September and October numbers on "Childhood in English Literature and Art." An acute reviewer holds that the chief

value of M'Master's second volume is as a reporter of our history rather than as an interpreter. Charles Dudley Warner's "Horseback" articles are excellent in style and of great interest in matter.

It is a great credit to our people that a technical magazine like the "Magazine of American History" should command the support it has gained. Mrs. Lamb is full of editorial tact, and is not following the Century in her war articles, but working on an independent line. These papers are fresh and strong, and in many cases supplement and improve all that has preceded them.

Italy puts on a new intellectual life with the unity and security of the institutions. We have examined several numbers of "La Nuova Scienza," a philosophic and scientific magazine, edited by Professor Enrico Caporali. Its aim is to bring before the Italian mind the best results of the German, English, and French philosophical inquiry of the last fifty years. It would appear to be strongly anticlerical, and shows traces of the inevitably skeptical movement which follows the Roman Church in those countries where its influence has been the longest felt in the paralysis of the intellect and the conscience.

The September number of the "Overland Monthly" gives large space to the memory and work of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson. There is no doubt that in several directions she was the strongest woman America has produced. Her personality was very charming to many, having in that respect the marks of genius. The account of her last days by Mrs. Apponyi is the best we have seen concerning the passing of this talented woman from human sight. Her victory over death was complete. The Overland deserves encouragement as a fine growth in poor soil.

In Art matters the summer has not yet shown its fruitfulness. Yet "Cassell's Magazine of Art" has drawn on the treasure houses of the world to maintain its interest and enrich its readers. The August number engraves and describes several of the older London churches upon which the wanderer comes so unexpectedly in traversing London. The papers on the "River Dart" continue, and are delightfully illustrated. There is in this number a strong engraving of Waterhouse's famous picture of St. Eulalia. Those who admire Andrew Lang's dainty genius will enjoy the portrait of him after Richmond. It is in this case that the face of the man and his work agree. The frontispiece of the September is after Alma Tadema's meaningless picture, "Who Is It?" which has the fatal fault of not telling its own story. Kaulbach's picture of "Unvalued Liberty," as here engraved, is charming. "The Old London Doorways" show that we had better return to the old paths. The picture by Audley Mackworth, "It is the Lord," is very strong, as is that of the "Secret," by Blair Leighton. The leading place in the October number is given to Arnold Bocklin and his work. The picture of "A Sea Idyl" is powerful but repulsive, and is not in the least idyllic. Those who have seen

Granada will be delighted with the engravings in the article describing that city. Raphael Sorbi's "Chloris" gives great pleasure. The Current Art Series presents the "Juliet" of Von Haanen, which succeeds in making death if not attractive at least not repulsive. Those who enjoy the weird power of Whistler will do well to study the portrait of the violinist Paolo Sarasate. There is art in the suppression of the figure for the sake of bringing out the man and the violinist.

"The Art Journal" (J. S. Virtue & Co., London) shows great editorial tact in its selections of the engravings and etchings which form the frontispiece of this charming publication. "The Reverie," by Marcus Stone, is delightful. London Club life has never been better described than in the series of articles which is now being published in this Journal. "An Old Coach Road," will explain to those who have not seen England why the old land is so delightful to Americans. The September number engraves on steel "The Evening Hour" of R. W. Leader. The first place is given to the work of our countryman John La Farge. But by far the best of the etchings which have reached the public through this Journal is that in the October number. It is by Dulduc after Jimenez y Aranda. It shows "A Public Letter Writer at Seville," who has stepped out into the sunlight to mend his quill pen. It is delightful in all respects. Both these periodicals are so good that we welcome their coming to an office which is supposed to be most interested in the graver topics.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: A New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., Late Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, etc. Two volumes, bound in one. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 310, 317. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, $4.

Cheyne's Isaiah is at once among the very best of its kind and also an illustration of the incompleteness, as to results, of the critical and exegetical examination and interpretation of the books of the Old Testament, of which perhaps this prophecy (or "prophecies") is not only among the most valuable portions, but also the best understood. And yet even this can as yet be treated only tentatively, and often explained simply hypothetically. The first edition was issued in 1880, and the second, very considerably changed, in 1882; and two years later came the present edition, still further modified. And now the author gives notice that he by no means supposes that this is to be the end of the matter.

The author's position is that of a liberal and rational (not *rationalistic*) student seeking to find out and set forth the real import of the remarkable book in hand, the canonical Isaiah. He comes to his work as a learner,

bringing with him his original preconceptions, which he finds no sufficient reason to lay aside, in respect to its genuineness and inspiration, and its true prophetic character. But by the use of the better methods of Bible study now in use, he has been brought to feel that as a whole the older, the "traditional," interpretation of this book cannot meet the requirements of the case, though some of the older writers among them, especially Vitringa, made valuable contributions to its proper elucidation. Hengstenberg may be said to have inaugurated the better method, and Alexander, by a very liberal use and appreciation of his matter, produced a much better commentary on Isaiah than any of the earlier ones, at least in our language. But as Hengstenberg discussed only its Christology, a thorough elucidation of the book remained a desideratum, which still waits to be supplied. Something in that direction is attempted in this work, but rather as contributions toward more complete and satisfactory inquiries than as any thing final. In the preface to the first edition the author wrote: "It appears to the author that a more thorough exegesis must (in England and America) precede the fruitful investigation of critical problems. . . . If it is a fact that exegetical phenomena are conflicting, let it be fairly represented as such; the final critical solution will have to take account of all the data of the problem." In the preface to this latest edition, he writes hopefully, though still recognizing great needs of something better: "The prospects of Old Testament study in England are more hopeful now than when I first began to write. Free and reverent investigation is at least sincerely tolerated, though within my own range of observation it has not received much countenance from the authorities. We have still to live in hope." But the day dawns.

The author fully and cordially accepts Isaiah as a divinely inspired teacher, who, while treating chiefly of the affairs of his own times, also prophesied of Christ's coming and kingdom, and he concludes that the book is deserving of the high place assigned it among the books of the Old Testament. The question, whether or not the last twenty-seven chapters (xl–lxvi) were written by the same hand with those that precede them, he holds to be not yet satisfactorily determined; perhaps he leans more than most modern critics to the traditional opinion that the whole book has a common authorship. The commentary is a good one for students, and all who are able to hold their convictions in suspense; but the outcome thus far is not final.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. 12mo, pp. 232. New York: Thomas Whittaker, Bible House.

The author of this work, which is one of a series of five volumes, of which two—one on Romans and one on First and Second Corinthians—have before appeared, and two more—one on the epistles of the "Imprisonment," and one on the Pastoral Epistles and First and Second Thessalonians—are to follow—are said to be the work of a Wesleyan minister who is also actively engaged in his regular ministerial duties. These volumes have been recognized by competent biblical scholars as presenting a valuable

mass of learned critical and exegetical discussions, at once clear, forcible, and eminently evangelical. Though every thing at all savoring of pedantry and all display of learning, whenever not really necessary, seems to have been studiously avoided, the Commentary is evidently the fruit of a broad and deep scholarship, of which, however, the results rather than the processes are given. Very little minute textual criticism appears, for which omission some compensation is offered in a strictly literal Greek-English version of the text. In addition to the detailed exposition of the text there are appended at the end of the volume eight elaborate dissertations, discussing the relations of Paul's teachings to that of the other apostolic writers, the date of the epistle, its presentation of the doctrine of justification by faith and its use, and the doctrinal import of the phrase "The Cross of Christ;" and finally, a summary of the contents of the epistle—the whole that is taught in and by it.

The relations of Paul to the other apostles and to the Church at Jerusalem, and of his doctrine and the form of his evangelism, have of late received a large share of attention, and to that discussion this Commentary is a valuable contribution, which, by its well-considered and ably presented conclusions, will go very far to counterwork the influence of such writings as the volume of the Hibbert Lectures noticed by us in a former number. No doubt there were incidental differences in the presentation of the great truths of Christianity by the several apostles, which were partly the results of the mental peculiarities of each; but beyond all that there are pretty clear evidences of different and somewhat inharmonious schools of thought —indications of which may be seen by comparing the Epistle to the Galatians with that of James. But there are nowhere found such discrepancies as amount to any real opposition. The evangelical doctrines of Paul are happily complemented by the ethical teachings of James, while Peter and John blend both sides in a beautiful harmony. There is also pretty clear evidence of the existence of an extreme Judaizing party at Jerusalem, who, while claiming to be Christian, were essentially Jewish of the narrowest Pharisaic type, and these were intensely scandalized by Paul's characteristic doctrine of justification by faith. But there is no proof that any of the apostles was of that class, and these opposers being only Jews, they perished as a party with the destruction of Jerusalem. This whole subject is very satisfactorily presented in this volume. We are glad that this exceedingly valuable Commentary has found an American publisher, who, we trust, will be duly compensated for his enterprise and good taste in bringing out the work in a style so attractive.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidences, Biblical Elucidations. Second Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Phillips & Sons.

The bound volume of the periodical issued under the auspices of the Society of which Dr. Deems is the president. Many of the papers were read at the meetings of the Society. Most of them are able.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Isaac W. Wiley, late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A Monograph. Edited by RICHARD S. RUST, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 233. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Our Episcopal necrology grows apace, as in somewhat rapid succession our Bishops are taken away by death; and it is only the right thing that after his decease the memoirs of each should be duly collected and perpetuated. These biographies will be among the most available materials out of which the history of our period of the Church will at some time be constructed. For a little more than twelve years Bishop Wiley filled the episcopal office, both ably and satisfactorily, and then he was cut off in what it seemed should have been the meridian of his manhood. He also brought to his last high office a previous history of unusual interest, in achieving which he became fitted for his last and greatest work—which earlier history it is well to have properly recorded.

The plan of this memoir—a "Monograph"—yet made up of many parts, is the bringing together twelve distinct and independent essays, by as many different writers, each relating to some portion of the history of their common subject, or some special phase of his character. Dr. Buttz treats of his "Early Life and Ministry;" Dr. E. Wentworth, of his "Mission Life" (in China); Dr. W. V. Kelley as "The Educator;" Bishop Walden tells of him as an "Editor and Author," and Bishop Merrill as "The Bishop;" Professor Townsend gives recollections of his "Residence in New England," and Dr. Rust of his relations with the "Freedmen's Aid Society;" Dr. M. W. Taylor contemplates him as a "Philanthropist," and Professor S. W. Williams as to his "Literary Character;" Dr. Buckley writes of him as "The Orator," and Dr. Joyce as "The Man." After these we have a chapter devoted to "Closing Scenes" (his death and burial in China), and another giving accounts of memorial services held in several places; and next a selection of editorial sketches and estimates of his character, made on the occasion of his decease. Last of all, we have a report of the remarkable prayer offered by him at the close of the last General Conference, now the more memorable because it was the last time that his voice was to be heard in the great convocation of the Church. Altogether, the book is a work of real value, and in preparing it Dr. Rust has earned the thanks not only of the friends of the deceased Bishop, but equally so of the whole Church.

Centenary Cameos, 1784–1884. By O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D., Editor of Nashville Christian Advocate. 8vo, pp. 350. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Brief sketches and characterizations of more than forty Methodist celebrities—men and women—from John Wesley to Margaret Lavinia Kelley, eulogistic and moderately laudatory, with thirty-one portraits. The first half are European, nearly all of them of the eighteenth century. About half of the other half belong to American Methodism before the Southern

"separation," and the balance to the "Church South," except only Dr. T. H. Stockton, of the Protestant Methodist Church. Those of the first and second sections are old stagers in Methodist biography; and among the last are some names that suggest to this writer thoughts of other days. Hope Hull is a familiar name, not chiefly because we have seen it in the original Methodist roll of honor, but especially since two of his sons were official members in the Church at Athens, our first pastorate, forty-four years ago. William Capers at that time resided at Oxford, Ga.,—he was Missionary Secretary— and showed much kindness to his younger brother. And Samuel Anthony was a combination of the two Johns, the Baptizer and him who leaned on the Master's breast at the Supper. He was a rare man, and the sketch is equally just and appreciative. The book, naturally a duodecimo, is metamorphosed into an octavo by setting the reading matter in marginal lines, and then giving broad margins beyond. The plan is not a bad one.

A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago. A Narrative of Travel and Exploration from 1878 to 1883. By HENRY E. FORBES, F.R.G.S., etc. With numerous Illustrations from the Author's Sketches, and Descriptions by Mr. John B. Gibbs. 8vo, pp. 536. New York: Harper & Brothers.

It is still emphatically true that "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," both by the scientist and the missionary, even should the sword of the conqueror be stayed in deference to the better civilization of the age. The Eastern Archipelago was explored, not very long ago, by Mr. A. R. Wallace, and the results of his examinations were happily set forth in his "Malay Archipelago" (Harper & Brothers, 1870), so that Mr. Forbes's field was not an entirely new one, though large parts of it were quite unknown to the learned world. As a naturalist he seems to have directed his attention chiefly to biological subjects, plants and animals, and more especially to those of the dry land; and here he had an unharvested field in which to operate, and which he did not fail to occupy. He also makes valuable contributions to the geographical knowledge of these islands, with their geology and climatology. As a book of travels simply, it is a highly entertaining sketch of strange scenes and unknown peoples.

The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By NOAH PORTER. 8vo, pp. 84. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It was becoming that Yale College should celebrate the Bicentennial of Bishop Berkeley, and President Porter certainly did his work in a becoming manner; and now the publishers have brought out the address, with notes in a style worthy of the subject and the matter. Dr. Porter evidently felt a very lively and kindly interest in his renowned subject, both as a man and a philosopher, though it has been the fashion with some who were quite incapable of appreciating Berkeley's philosophy to speak slightingly of both the man and his works; but those who better understand the case are aware that he has been a principal factor in shaping the

forms and conceptions of the thought of the age. And besides his fame as an idealist, he was also a Christian philanthropist of the most generous kind, and a poet—not much of a versifier, but richly endowed with the imagination and the fancy that constitute the real basis of poetry; and his love for our western world should endear his memory to the American people. This book is valuable as a memorial of a genius, and a tribute to the good name of an altogether worthy man.

POLITICS, LAW, AND GENERAL MORALS.

Principles of Political Economy. By SIMON NEWCOMB, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the Johns-Hopkins University, etc. 8vo, pp. 543. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The manifest drift of the public mind toward questions of finance, especially in their relations to different classes of persons, cannot fail to give new interest to the study of Political Economy, a study which, however valuable to all who really master it, has often proved alike unsatisfactory and misleading. Professor Newcomb's treatment of the subject is exceptionally clear and able; and any who will carefully consider his facts and manifest deductions, though his theories may not be accepted, will be the better enabled to form right conclusions. In matters of public and social economy, just as in respect to hygiene, and even public and private morals, men's actions are often better than their theories, and their notions are often rooted in thorough convictions for which no formal reason can be given. A careful reading of this volume will show good and sufficient reasons for many things in men's "common sense" belief, and also correct some gross and palpable errors.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New Edition. With an Introductory Account of the Work by the Author. One volume, 12mo, pp. 500. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

This certainly is not a new publication, and yet it is not a resurrection, for the work has not been dead; nor a reprint, for it has never been out of print. Still, as here presented, it is something new. The substance of the story is unchanged, which is well—for any possible change would be for the worse.

The copious introductory matter is new, and yet even that contains but little that was not before generally understood. The account of the origin and genesis of the book, as here given, is a record which, with those to whom it will not be new, will bear repeating, but to the younger half of those now living—having grown up since the work was written—or after they have passed away from the impression of its first appearance, it will prove a peculiarly interesting chapter of both literary and general

history. Perhaps no other book, in any age or country—certainly none in modern times—has so entered into the life of the age, or made so large and so conspicuous a contribution to its current literature. Nor has any other book been translated into so many different languages, nor been so generally and widely read; and though by one class it is remembered as the companion of their youth, and by another it is recognized as a relic of the past, whose purposes have become accomplished facts, by the former it will be read as a pleasant reminder of other days, and by the latter as the agency that aided to bring about some of the most remarkable events of the near past, which also belong to the present.

The insertion in the Introduction of Mrs. Stowe's correspondence with many distinguished men and women in Europe, during the first years after the publication of "Uncle Tom," and the account of the ovation which she received when a few years later she went abroad in person, is certainly a pardonable expression of gratified vanity. The hero of such victories as she had won has the right to

"Shoulder his [her] crutch and show how fields were won."

The references to some things experienced by some of the antislavery pioneers, though certainly when suffered they were not joyous, are not altogether unpleasant reminiscences to those at a safe distance; but very different are the feelings awakened by the remembrance of the truculent insolence of the minions of the slave-power on the one hand, and on the other, the contemptible moral cowardice of politicians and churchmen, and still worse of merchants and traders, throughout the free States, who seemed to be more than willing to lie down and be trodden upon. It is well, perhaps, that such meanness of spirit should not be remembered beyond the age that witnessed it, since wherever known it must be a blot upon human nature.

It is often a matter of lively interest to find out and identify the living originals of the persons and incidents that figure in works of fiction, and in this Introduction there are given several instances of this kind. Some of these have been heretofore correctly understood, while others have been less correctly or only very partially interpreted. "Uncle Tom," we are assured, was largely a creation, or rather the character was constructed from materials gathered from a variety of sources, to which, however, "Father Henson" made only slight contributions. The ideal of the old hero might, however, be found more fully realized in actual examples among the southern slaves than some others that are drawn out in the story. A personal acquaintance with slaves and slavery, in its own habitat, and when in its most complete ascendency, though clearly attesting the low moral status of the slaves, disclosed, also, two admirable classes among them. One of these consisted of men usually past middle life, devotedly religious, honest, and incorruptible in morals—to that class Uncle Tom belonged; the other, less numerous, consisted of young women—often personal servants or trusted housekeepers, in many cases somewhat educated, and often cultured by constant contact with good

society. Such persons were often considered rich prizes for sporting characters and the scions of the "best families;" and the few that escaped unscathed—"so as by fire"—were heroines of virtuous purity. No one of the female characters of the story quite answers to this ideal, but its realization seems to have been approximated by the "Edmunds girls," whose case is referred to by Mrs. Stowe in her "Introduction," and whose rescue, in 1851, from the slave-trader's pen at Alexandria, through which it was intended that they should pass to lives of infamy in the far South, this writer helped to effectuate. But this could be brought about only by "a great ransom;" for the rescuers were told by the astute dealers in bodies and souls that such accomplished "property" would command fabulous prices in New Orleans.

No doubt Mrs. Stowe's world-renowned fiction was an effective agency in bringing about the overthrow of slavery—not, indeed, that either she or any of her collaborators ever even suggested any practical method for the accomplishment of the desired work; but they aroused the conscience of the nation, and helped to create a public opinion which impelled the heart of the people to demand the removal of the curse, and which added the needed moral element to render it effective when it had been legally proclaimed. So thoroughly was slavery wrought into the national organism that its removal seemed impossible; but that it might be destroyed its protectors were made mad, and so the very means resorted to for its perpetuation were those by which its destruction was accomplished.

The re-reading of "Uncle Tom" may be not without its practical utility in these times. There are still gigantic political, social, and moral curses among us, some of them quite as fearful and corrupting in their influences as was slavery—protected by the laws, winked at by society, and passed over with only faint rebukes by the Church—and for the abatement and removal of these a race of heroes and martyrs may still be needed. This new editionof "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is therefore not untimely, and it may be hoped that it will be widely read, and that it may stimulate some to heroic endeavors against the great evils that still corrupt and oppress society.

Elijah the Reformer: A Ballad-Epic; and Other Sacred and Religious Poems. By George Lansing Taylor, D.D. Square 12mo, pp. 281. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Here we have, first of all, a decidedly goodly volume—a piece of workmanship highly creditable to all who had part in its production—publishers, editor, compositors, proof-readers, and binders. The work is thoroughly well done, and the book is pleasant to look upon and easy to read. But to do it justice as a literary and artistic production is not an easy task. Its principal piece is well described by its title, "A Ballad-Epic," for it combines very successfully the characteristics of the two forms of composition. It is no doubt specifically a *ballad*, having all the features and essential properties of that species of poetry. And yet it is so much more of a thing than ballads usually are that it seems to deserve a higher

name, and by reason of its enlarged features it approximates the character of an epic. The story is simply that of the Tishbite prophet, himself a mystery, even more undetermined than Melchizedek or the man of Uz, and yet among the fiercest, most heroic names in all literature, ancient or modern, sacred or profane; but, as usual, the crowning excellence of the story is in the telling. The frame-work of the ballad is taken from the Old Testament, but the epic elements, in which the poetical characteristics especially appear, are the writer's own conceptions, and as he, the subject, stands forth in their setting he is seen as a veritable hero. This simple and most realistic presentation of a grand career naturally assumes the character of a drama.

Dr. Taylor is a poet only because he cannot help it, and what he writes is out of the fullness of his heart, and of the spontaneity of his imagination. And yet his productions are much more than momentary effusions, and as here seen they are manifestly growths, and the accretions of well-considered thoughts. The poetical imagery and the forms of the versification are evidently the outcome of a large amount of severe critical consideration exercised during many successive years; and in these it will be found that the hand of a master has been at work. The minor poems, which together constitute much the greater part of the volume, quite as fully and advantageously illustrate these qualities as does the principal one. Most of them are also based upon Scripture scenes and incidents, and in them are found some of the finest gems; and without any offensive sameness of manner, there is still a remarkable uniformity of sentiment and purpose running through the whole. Every-where is seen the same reverent spirit and abiding trust in God and the right, of hopefulness and of hearty detestation of shams and hypocrisies. Written while the conflict against legalized oppression was still in power, or while rebellion was raising its bloody hand in defense of oppression, many of these poems have all the qualities of battle-cries or pæans of victory. To the poet's conception Elijah was specifically a *Reformer*, and a prince and pattern of those who have dared and suffered for the cause of righteousness. A fine enunciation of this is given in some of the closing lines of the Epilogue of the "Ballad-Epic," of which we subjoin a quaternion:

> "All heaven-born hero-souls are God's torch-bearers for mankind;
> But brightest they who most have caught his own all-kindling mind.
> From Calvary's height Redemption's light shall shine o'er earth abroad,
> But no true soul, from pole to pole, e'er cried in vain to God."

Of the multitude of poetical productions elicited by the death of General Grant we give the first place, without hesitation, to Dr. G. L. Taylor's "Elegy on Grant—Patriot, Conqueror, Hero," which Funk & Wagnalls have brought out in a style worthy of the production and its subject, in a demi-octavo of thirty pages, beautifully printed on fine paper. The poem is of a high order of excellence, at once spirited and tender, graphic and dramatic—about the best thing that its author has ever written.

City Ballads. By WILL CARLETON, Author of "Farm Ballads," etc. Illustrated. 4to, pp. 180. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Will Carleton is certainly a genius, of which fact he was probably at first not aware. But he knows it now; and though evidently careful to maintain his original character and manners—in which endeavor he does not entirely fail—he nevertheless betrays his self-consciousness, and he is no longer the wild bird of the prairies that once sang so sadly and naturally in "Betsy and I," and "Over the Hills to the Poor-House." In this changed state of mind, of which change, probably, he is less cognizant than his readers, he comes to deal with a new and widely different class of subjects in his "City Ballads." While still retaining much of his original individuality, he shows very considerable modifications of both thought and manner. He has wisely laid aside most of his provincialisms, and corrected his orthography and syntax, but retains a good share of the quaint naturalness of his earlier productions. In the city he is brought into conflict with new aspects of men and manners, and with phases of society not much spoken of in his former writings; and though he does not succeed in solving all the social problems of the city, he still writes like a sensible man.

Poems: Together with "Brother Jacob," and "The Lifted Vail." By GEORGE ELIOT. Harper's Library Edition. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Writers who are real geniuses are not always the best judges in respect to their own strong points, and of this George Eliot's estimate of her own poetry is an example. Had she been only a poet she would have taken a not especially conspicuous place in the great company of second and third class rhymers, of whom publishers fight shy, and in respect to whom readers use their liberty to turn the leaves and then consign the volume to the high shelves of the book-case. The present volume, with its diverse materials, seems to have been made up of the remnants, in order to complete the edition of the author's works; and as completeness is especially desirable in making up a library, this final volume will be acceptable without regard to its contents.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Epworth Hymnal: Containing Standard Hymns of the Church; Songs for the Sunday-school; Songs for Social Services; Songs for the Home Circle; Songs for Special Occasions. 8vo, pp. 232. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

How to provide for the minor song services and the less formal exercises of social worship and the Sunday-school and other special occasions has long been found a perplexity and a puzzle. A great many attempts have been made to solve the difficulty, by providing manuals of hymns and music, until publications of that kind have become like the frogs in

Egypt, very many and very discordant. But the want was felt to be a pressing one, and so the late General Conference provided for the compilation of a collection of hymns and tunes which, it was hoped, like the serpent made from Aaron's rod which swallowed up the whole hissing group made from the rods of the magicians, would effectually banish and supersede all others. The outcome of that initial action is now before us in the "Epworth Hymnal"—a fancy name which Editor Vincent thinks is happily chosen—a goodly volume, not too large, with 319 pieces—words and music—well put up, and generally presenting an inviting appearance. In considering the matter of the book, it is necessarily compared with others that have been offered to fill the place for which this is intended; and here it may be said that it very easily outdoes even the best of them. The first hundred pieces—words and music—are in fact a collection of real hymns, well adapted for worship, on an average a little lighter than the first hundred in the "Hymnal," but chiefly grave and sensible pieces. After these come a lighter and more jingling selection, but still not much deformed or desecrated by the kind of material that is often found in the popular quasi-religious song-books. The authors drawn upon for this class of hymns constitute a wide range, with a decided inclination to modern mediocrity—among whom the blind poetess Fanny Crosby seems to have been the favorite. It was probably to that class the editor referred when he wrote, "The severest criticism might point out slight defects in them, which, although sufficient to exclude them from the classic lists, do not justify their omission in a book 'for the people.'" It may be hoped therefore that "the people" will appreciate them, notwithstanding the left-handed compliment with which they are offered. We are free to say that the book is better than any other of its class that we have seen, and therefore we hope that it may, as soon as may be, supersede all others in our Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings.

The Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden. Edited by JOHN BIGELOW. In Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 606, 601. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Works of this class, though they are not likely to be widely read, still have their value, not only as historical records, but also for purposes of education, for among those who read such books are the fashioners of the affairs of the nation. Mr. Tilden's career was protracted and moderately eventful, even before the transactions that have given his name a prominent and a permanent place in the political history of the country. He was at once an able lawyer, a statesman of fair abilities, a successful man of business, and an astute (some would say unscrupulous) political partisan; and at the culmination of his career he was suddenly and strangely (his friends say unrighteously) balked of the long-sought prize just as it seemed to be in his grasp.

Mr. Tilden contributed largely to the political discussions of his times, and, though his reputation was for the most part that of a partisan rather than of a statesman, still he was not destitute of decided convictions, and perhaps he more frequently dictated the policy of his party than

simply adopted the opinions that were brought to him. It will not be denied that he was not in harmony with the thought that dominated in the nation during the double decade 1860–80, and that the wonderful political revolution accomplished in those years was effected, not by his help, but in spite of his earnest disfavor; and it is quite evident that his "politics" are quite as thoroughly superseded in the nation—no matter what the party in power—as is he himself retired from all public action. And the events actually accomplished in the progress of that revolution make it impossible that it ever shall be reversed. The doctrines of State sovereignty and of class distinctions before the law were buried in the same grave with African slavery, with men of Mr. Tilden's class for chief mourners.

As it was said respecting the succession to the throne of England at the demise of Henry VIII., that no human wisdom could determine who was the legal sovereign, so, after the Presidential election of November, 1876, it was impossible to say who had been chosen. It would have been very easy to count Mr. Tilden in by construing only a few of the disputed cases in his favor, but the same rule that would reject any one of them must reject them all, and so leave Mr. Hayes the legally elected President. But while there was room for doubt as to the technical legality of the cases at issue, there could be none as to what was the popular will, and what would have been the issue had there been a "free ballot and a fair count." No doubt the people's choice prevailed, though the processes by which the result was reached were strangely irregular. The unedifying attempts that were made to overcome the very narrow majority of the Republican candidate were, to the last degree, discreditable to those who were concerned in them; but the fact that no chosen elector could be corrupted speaks well for the integrity of those trusted public servants.

We are glad that these volumes have been compiled and printed—they constitute a part of the documentary history of the country—and that the editorial work has fallen into such able hands; for though they are wholly one-sided and intensely partisan, yet they belong to the nation's annals and should be preserved.

Initial Life; or, the Lost Principle Restored. By Rev. L. Rosser, D.D., of the Virginia Conference (M. E. Church, South). 12mo, pp. 288. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Rev. Leo. Rosser is a character—a figure not to be separated from the goodly company of Virginia Methodists of the latter half of the first Methodist century. Half a century ago he and this writer sat upon the same benches, and together conjugated Latin verbs and extracted Greek roots. Since then we have not often met, but he has succeeded in keeping himself in sight, somewhat as a writer, but more especially as an evangelistical pulpit orator, for which he early displayed manifest adaptations. And now there comes to hand a volume bearing his name, containing a restatement and discussion of some of the deepest moral and religious problems. Accepting as true the scriptural and rational doctrine of "total depravity" as an inheritance from the first Adam, he finds this

complemented and balanced by the favor of the Second Adam, who is to all men more than provisionally a Redeemer, being truly and already in fact a "quickening Spirit." Through Christ all men are made alive, and in this "initial life" they are to perform their probation. This point is certainly happily taken, for although not new, yet its consideration helps to a better understanding of certain related truths of the highest value. In this are seen the subjective provisions in every man for the exercise of faith and hope, the grounds of moral obligation, and the power of free will, on which rests moral responsibility. These thoughts are well stated, though the methods of argumentation are not always beyond criticism as over-drawn, and, perhaps, sometimes resting much more in the forms of rhetoric than the substance of logic. The book presents a well-thought-out line of argumentation, showing that the writer's "natural force" is not abated by the lapse of time, and the conclusions reached are at once practically valuable and highly consolatory.

Eight Studies on the Lord's Day. 12mo, pp. 292. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Sabbath: Its Permanence, Promise, and Defense. By W. W. Everts, D.D. 12mo, pp. 278. New York: E. B. Treat.

If our American Sabbath is—as some boast and some desponding ones fear—to be swept away by the overflowings of liberalism and lager-beer, it is also quite evident that the victory is not to be won without a conflict; and the two volumes above named will, each in its way, contribute to the maintenance and defense of the "old paths." The former was first printed a few years ago for private circulation, and is now given to the public on the recommendation of those by whom it has been read. The second is by a well-known and justly-esteemed writer, who proposes to build a fence about the sacred institution, bringing his materials from God's word and the experience of the ages. The lover of God's Holy Day will find in the volumes a treasury of thought with which to strengthen and fortify his own sacred regard for the Sabbath, and a store-house from which to draw arguments for the overthrow of its foes.

Mental Science. A Text-Book for Schools and Colleges. By Edward John Hamilton, D.D., Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Hamilton College. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A college text-book is not designed to set forth original truths or thinkings, but to summarize facts and principles already clearly ascertained. Its special excellence is, therefore, much less in its matter than in its methods. The science of mental philosophy is very largely affected as to its forms by the conceptions of its teachers, and nearly every one has his own methods and system. Dr. Hamilton gives us the results of his professional studies and labors, which, inspired and enforced by his own personality, would, no doubt, become eminently available as a text-book; without his presence, though profoundly learned, it would be likely to prove unsatisfactory.

The Old and the New Man; or, Sin and Salvation. By Rev. Anson West, D.D., of the North Alabama Conference. 12mo, pp. 335. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

In his preface the author of this volume assumes that its subject and matter are indicated by its title, which, though true as to themes discussed and the opinions advanced, is not correct as to its details and its determinations respecting the subjects in hand. It is designed to restate in clear and unmistakable language the great fundamental doctrines set forth in the old Methodist standards and formerly preached from the Methodist pulpit, and only there. And in the statement and exposition of these doctrines the author is led to discuss the errors of Calvinism on the one hand, and on the other Pelagianism in its uncounted varieties, verging out into Arianism, Universalism, and Socinianism. Though not an elaborate theological treatise, it is a valuable and available hand-book of the first truths in religion.

The Boy's Book of Battle Lyrics. A Collection of Verses Illustrating some Notable Events in the History of the United States of America, from the Colonial Period to the Outbreak of the Sectional War. By Thomas Dunn English, M.D., LL.D. With historical notes and numerous engravings of persons, scenes, and places. 8vo, pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The battle-ballad is not an elevated style of poetry, and yet it has so much of fascination for some minds that books of this kind will not be likely to want readers. Those that make up this volume are poetically better than the average of their class, and with the accompanying historical sketch they constitute an illustrated gallery of battle scenes and incidents among the best of their kind.

The Franklin Square Song Collection, No. 3. Containing Two Hundred Favorite Songs and Hymns. 8vo, pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers.

With those who have been acquainted with the earlier numbers of this series, the title of this collection will be its sufficient introduction; and though the field had been twice reaped, the gleaning has been quite equal to the harvesting. Some of the very best of our popular religious lyrics are here given, and not a few of the well known patriotic and secular pieces, and all of them have been chosen with excellent taste.

A Happy Life. By Alfred Witherby, Author of "The Hand in the Dark." 18mo, pp. 227. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Under the form of fiction an object-lesson in personal goodness is here given. "The narrative here given," writes the author in his preface, "is that of a possible life, where goodness in suffering as well as goodness in doing God's will is made useful to others." It is a good and wholesome book.

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Wanderings on Parnassus. Poems. By J. Hazard Hartzell. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The author of these poems is an Episcopal clergyman of Detroit, and is especially known to the public as a brilliant and effective lecturer. The poems that make up this volume are all of them brief lyrics, seldom more than a hundred lines; sometimes sketches from nature, and sometimes gentle sentimental musings. The versification is fairly good, with occasional touches of real poetry. The book is dedicated to the author's children, at whose "earnest request," he tells us, they "have been arranged and published." They are quite worthy of so much appreciation, though probably the great world will take but little note of them.

Hand-Book of Logic. A Concise Body of Logical Doctrine, including Modern Additions with Numerous Practical Exercises. By Rev. Jno. J. Tigert, M.A., Instructor in Moral Philosophy in Vanderbilt University. 12mo, pp. 314. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Logic is both a science and an art, though usually treated almost exclusively in the latter aspect, and where so treated the excellence of the work is proportioned to its comprehensiveness and the clearness of its statements and definitions. In all these things this work answers very satisfactorily to the requirements of the case.

Alone with God. Studies and Meditations in a Sick-Room. By Rev. Joseph Cross, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Evangel," etc. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

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969

INDEX.

Abbott: Study in Human Nature, 327.
Advent, The Second, and the Millennium, 771.
Æsthetics, Hegel's, 646.
Africa, Bishop for, W. Taylor, 643.
Africa, Central, Missionary Succession, 304.
Africa, Ethnography of Northern and Central, 83.
  Bible an authentic record, 83; post-diluvian genealogies, 83; four races, 84; descendants of Mizraim, 85; Berbers, 86; Kabyles, 87; Abyssinians, 89; Hamitic and Semitic blood, 90; Egyptian Soodan, 90; variations, 93; typical Negro, 93; Northern and Central Africa, 98; Copts, 101; Nubians, 101; Moors, 103; Negroes, 104; Gordon, 105; Soodanese, 106; redemption of the "Dark Continent," 107.
Africa, Missionary Bishop for, 423.
After-School Series, The, 896.
America, The Labor Problem in, 924.
Anabaptists, The, 291.
Anodyne, The Great Physician's, 353.
  John xiv, 1–10, 353; quiets nervous excitement, 354; heaven near us, 355; heaven in order, 356; kingdom prepared, 359; basal faith, 360; doubts, 361.
Anthropomorphism, 510.
  St. Spiridion, 510; theistic knowledge, 513; omnipresence, 514; omniscience, 515; image of God, 517; Jahveh, 520; divine attributes, 524; strange gods, 525; Christianity, 526; idols, 531; symbols, 534.
Anthropomorphism, Prof. Winchell on, 764.
Apostasy, Danger of, 727.
  Exposition of texts, 728; doctrine of perseverance, 729; design of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 730; who are in danger, 731; Prof. Stuart, 734; Julius Müller's views, 742.
Apostles, Teaching of the Twelve, 474.
Apprenticeship, My Missionary, 168.
Article, The Greek, in the New Testament, 215.
  Use unsettled, 215; demonstrative pronoun, 215; definite article has a meaning, 216; Winer's Grammar, 219; linguistic anomaly, 224; Alford and Peile, 226; influence of Hebrew on New Testament diction, 230; Green, 232.
Assyriology, 647.
Atonement, Doctrine of the, 329.
  Title of book, 329; divided into two parts, 330; "Remonstrants," 331; Methodism a great boon, 332; Dr. Hodge, 334; preliminary inquiry, 336; original sin, 337; atonement central truth, 340; effects of atonement, 341; evangelical Arminianism, 343; extent of atonement, 344; universality of, 346; effects on the condition of infants, 348; Augustine and Lutherans, 349; Dr. Krauth, 351; saves from sin, 352.
Atonement, Last Testimony to, 571.
  First allusion, 571; first testimony, 573; the blood, 574; strength and comfort, 577; transition, 580; different views, 583; most comprehensive, 586; life, 589; final testimony, 590.
Badley: The Mela at Tulsipur, 481.
Bannister, Rev. Henry, D.D., 649.
  Ancestry, 649; conversion, 649; graduates at Wesleyan University, 650; studies theology at Auburn, 651; Cazenovia Seminary, 651; associates at Wesleyan, 652; goes to Garrett Biblical Institute, 653; Dempster, 653; Evanston, 653; his work, 654; his religious life, 655.
Baptism, Infant, Methodist View of, 435.
Baptists and Liberty of Conscience, 327.
Barnes: Hand-Book of Bible Biography, 320.
Beatification for American Servants of God asked for, 449.
Beecher: Comforting Thoughts, 327.
Belgium, Ultramontanes in, 443.
Belief, Rationale of, 289.
  Roots of beliefs, 289; spontaneous, 289; reflective, 290.
Berean Beginner's Book, 166.
—— Question Book, 166.
—— Senior Class Book, 166.
Bible, Right and Wrong Use of the, 116.
Biography, Hand-book of Bible, 320.
Body, Christ's Education of his, 692.
  The fact of discipline, 692; with his disciples, 693; a typical case, 696; Jesus as a mechanic, 699; Messianic body, 702; memorable day, 704; extent of physical culture, 711.
Book, First Italian Reading, 327.
Boots and Saddles, 646.
Bose: Hindu Philosophy Popularly Explained, 161.
Boughton: Sketches and Rambles in Holland, 165.
Brace: Gesta Christi, 430.
Brainard, David, 322.
Brown, Jimmy, Adventures of, 646.
Butte: Article, The Greek, in N. T., 215.
Capel: Faith of Catholics, 317.
Carlyle, Thomas, 160.
Catholics, The Faith of, 317.
Centennial Conference of Episcopal Methodism, 297.
Centennial, Lessons from the, 285.
  Conference, 285; bigness, 286; increase of Methodism in two respects, 287; financial increase, 288.
Centuries, Conflict of, 329.
Century, The Religious Revolution of the Eighteenth, 846.
  Great names, 846; English ministry, 848; not chaotic, 849; forces at work, 851; English philosophy, 852; social status of England, 854; politics, 855; the theater, 858; the clergy, 859; Wesleyanism, 864; post-Wesleyan period of English history, 867; beginning of the century, 868; lessons, 868.

INDEX.

Character, Private, and Public Life, 121.
Children, Sunday Evenings with, 325.
China, South-western, and Prospective Trade Routes, 551, 743.
Louis de Carné, 551; at Bassak, 555; map, 556; Garnier and Dupuis, 560; Yunnan, 563; intercourse with China, 565; Burmah, 567; roads in Yunnan, 743; minerals, 747; classes of population, 749; Pêsê, 751; Mr. Colquhoun, 753; his explorations, 757.
Christ, Resurrection of our Lord Jesus, 327.
Church, History of the Christian, 478.
Clouds, Rifted, 319.
Commentary, The Lesson, 166.
Christianity, Workday, 477.
Congo and its Free State, 803.
Congo, The, 897.
Africa considered, 898; physical character of, 900; vastness of, 901; Congo river, the, 902; climate, 903; ethnology, 905; religious ideas, 906; Free State, 907; missionary field, 910; industrial development, 913; Methodist missions, 915.
Conversion, Philosophy of, 113.
Cook: Boston Monday Lectures, Occident, 167.
Crime, Increase of, 609.
Crook: Bishop Thomson, 169.
Crook: Doctrine of the Atonement, 329.
Cudworth, Ralph, Philosophy of, 327.
Cyclopædia, New, of Prose Illustrations, 477.
Cyclopædia of Biblical and Theological Literature, 467.
Cyclopædia of Poetry, First and Second Series, 477.
Davies: Life of Hester Ann Rogers, 479.
Denmark, The Church in, 444.
De Puy: Methodist Year-Book, 328.
Development, O. T. Prophecy of Consummation, etc., 638.
Dickinson: Easter Greetings, 482.
Dictionary of the English Language, 165.
Dods, et al.: Hand-Book for Bible Classes, 488.
Dorchester: The Liquor Problem in all Ages, 161.
Drury and Weaver: Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein, 474.
Drake: Indian History for Young Folks, 165.
Ecclesiology, 469.
Eddy: American Universalism, 321.
Edersheim: Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 148.
Education, Christian, 56.
Object of the paper, 56; difference between Christianity and secularism, 56; conception of human life, 57; colleges, 61; halls surrounding colleges, 62; instructors in Christian colleges, 65; Christian science, 67.
Edwards, et al.: David Brainard, 322.
Edwards: Methodist Church Polity, 397.
Egypt and Babylon, 321.
Encyclopedia, Religious, 316.
Essays, Biographical, 167.
Evolution, About, 283.
Prof. Kellogg, 283; manner of treating, 284; ecclesiastical proceedings, 285.
Evolution and Christianity, 480.
Evolution, Errors of, 807.
Ewald: Revelation, its Nature and Record, 470.
Faith, Reality of, 153.
Farness: Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, 327.
Fathers, Doctrine of the, 250.
Question of Episcopacy, 250; Stevens, 251; Watson, 252; Coke, 252; Christmas Conference, 253; Asbury's ordination, 255; second Conference, 257; title of Bishop used, 261; Wesley objects to the change, 262; ordination an induction to office, 266; Dickins and Emory, 268; consecration, 270; Whatcoat elected Bishop, 271; E. Cooper, 273; Asbury's death, 273.
Fiske: American Political Ideas, 481.
Fitzgerald: Dr. Summers, 476.
Foreign, Religious and Literary, 125, 291, 441, 613, 775, 929.
Foster: Cyclopedias, 478.
France, The Catholic Church of, 445.
Froude: Thomas Carlyle, 160.
Gate, From the Golden, to the Golden Horn, 807.
Genius, Struggles and Romances of a, 656.
Berlioz, 656; beginning of trials, 658; second trial, 659; his life-long enemy, 661; a third trial, 663; dearest victory, 669; a concert, 671; a second concert, 672; never knew how to surrender, 673; librarian, 674; his Romeo et Juliette, 676; at Hamburg, 677; his death, 682.
Government, Democratic, 645.
Geography, Manual of Biblical, 160.
Georges, The Four, History of, 322.
Germany, Old Catholicism in, 445.
Gesta Christi, 482.
Gildersleeve: Pindar, 481.
Gorham: God's Method with Man, 487.
Gospel, The, in all Lands, 480.
Grace, Possibilities of, 151.
Gracey: Outline Missionary Series—India, 326.
Grant, Death of General, 917.
Hamilton: The People's Church Pulpit, 167.
Hand-Books for Bible Classes, 488.
Harrison: Life of Robert Paine, 159.
Hastings: Obscure Characters and Lights of Scripture, 319.
Hatfield: Poets of the Church, 325.
Hebrews, Exposition of Epistle to, 639.
Hell, Letters from, 644.
Herodotus, Sixth and Seventh Books of, 482.
Heroes and Heroines, Our Missionary, 168.
History, Indian, for Young Folks, 165.
——, Universal, 168.
History, The Student's Ecclesiastical, 806.
Hitchcock: Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 477.
Holland, Sketches and Rambles in, 165.
Hopkins: Teachings and Counsels, 166.
Hoppin: Pastoral Theology, 318.
Hughes: The Beloved Physician, 159.
Hurlbut: Lesson Commentary, 166.
——, Manual of Biblical Geography, 160.
Hyde: Migration of Language, 321.
Hymn Studies, 322.
Hymns, Reading of the, 108.
Ideas, American Political, 487.
Imbroglio, Franco-Chinese, 190.
Annam, 191; Mesny's book, 192; French diplomacy, 193; Tonkin open, 196; drifting to war, 200; France sending re-enforcements to Annam, 202; China protested, 203; indemnity demanded by France, 204; France in the East, 209; China no match for France, 213; Christian religion, 214.
Inskip, Rev. John, Christian Life of, A Study, 406.
Birth, 406; converted, 407; another crisis in experience, 408; religious history, 410; the average Christian life, 413; progress, 414; indwelling sin, 415; Christian holiness, 417; external conditions of his experience, 419; influence on the Church, 421; "Higher Life," 422.
Inskip, Rev. John S., Life of, 805.
Institutions, Bible Study in our Literary, 605.
Intelligence, Domestic Religious, 131, 297, 449.

Intelligence, Missionary, 135, 304, 453, 623, 775, 937.
Introduction, Hebrew, 168.
Jesus Christ, God, God and Man, 153.
——, the Messiah, Life and Time of, 148.
Judaism, Orthodox and Reformed, 450.
Kelsey: T. Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura, Libri Sex, 327.
Kingdom, The Theocratic, of our Lord Jesus Christ, 315.
Knox, John, 481.
Knox: Voyage of the Vivian to the North Pole, 168.
Koreans, Promising Work among the, 457.
Lacordaire: Jesus Christ, God, God and Man, 153.
Language, Migration of, 361.
Mother tongue, 362; Ulfilas or Wolfson, 364; work of Ulfilas, 365; great men and events of the fourth century, 367; Gothic of Ulfilas, 367; the word Asia, 370; Odin, 371; Teutonic race, 372; Runic, 374.
Larcom, Lucy, Poetical Works of, 324.
Lessons, Hebrew, 158.
Lexicon, Biblical, 295.
Life, Apostolic, 166.
——, Death, and Eternity, 320.
——, Fifty Years of London, 167.
——, Spiritual, 153.
Lipscomb: Christ's Education of his Body, 692.
Literature, Popular Manual of English, 484.
Literature, The Critical and the Ethical in, 821
Criticism called for, 822; authors and publishers, 823; our national literature, 824; what critics have done, 826; true criticism, 829; fundamental principles, 831; must conform to the ethical principles of Christianity, 841; the French novel, 842; newspaper press, 845; historical fact, 846.
Lucretii, T., Cari de Rerum Natura, Libri Sex, 327.
Luther as Bible Translator, 375.
Helpers, 375; Melanchthon, 376; did not translate the Vulgate, 378; value of Luther's Bible, 382; simplicity and naturalness, 387; defects, 389; circulation, 392; national significance, 393; effect on the German language, 396.
M'Carthy: Four Georges, History of, 322.
M'Chesney: Christian Education, 56.
M'Clintock and Strong: Cyclopædia, 467.
M'Kenzie: Cambridge Sermons, 328.
M'Tyeire: History of Methodism, 154.
Magazines, 144, 310, 461, 629, 790, 945.
Man, God's Methods with, 487.
Manning: Not of Man, but of God, 328.
Matthew, Hand-Book of, 471.
Mela, The, at Tulsipur, 476.
Men of Letters, English—*Coleridge*, 326.
——, of invention and industry, 326.
Merriam: Herodotus, Sixth and Seventh Books of, 482.
Messiah, Prophecy and History in Relation to the, 636.
Methodism, History of, 154.
——, Centennial History of American, 157.
Methodist Episcopal Church, Constitutional Law of, 30.
Aim of the article, 30; constitution, 31; written constitution, 32; Dr. Merrill, 33; lex non scripta, 34; interpretation, 35; Dr. Curry, 36; Dr. Hamline, 37; two views, 40; elective presiding eldership, 46.
Methodist Year Book, for 1885, 328.
Mexico, the Republic of, 489.
Description of country, 489; commerce, 490; mines, 492; railroads, 494; cotton factories, 495; Aztecs, 498; temples, 499; colonial history, 501; republic, 502; education, 503; Christianity, 504; prospects, 507.
Meyer: Hand-Book of Matthew, 471.
Miller: Conflict of Centuries, 329.
Ministers, Hints to Self-Educated, 326.
Ministry, Education for the, 597.
Mission, Germans and the Cameroons, 455.
Missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant, 457.
Mitchell: Hebrew Lessons, 158.
——, Hebrew Introduction, 168.
Mohammedanism, Notable Convert from, 453.
Montcalm and Wolfe, 475.
Mormonism, New Light on, 646.
Morris: Ecclesiology, 469.
Müller: Biographical Essays, 167.
Nature, Studies in, 486.
New Testament, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the, 150.
Nutter: Hymn Studies, 322.
Oats or Wild Oats, 646.
Occident, Boston Monday Lectures, 167.
Old Testament, Companion to the Revised, 801.
Otheman: China, 551, 773.
Otterbein, Philip William, 809.
Revival spirit, 810; American colonies an inviting field for Methodism, 811; Asbury and Otterbein, 812; Otterbein born, 812; came to America and began his ministry, 813; returned to Germany, 1770, for one year, 815; preached in Baltimore, 816; a church polity, 817; new organization, 818; his last Conference, 818; was superintendent, 819; his death, 820; Church of the United Brethren, 821.
Otterbein, Rev. Philip William, Life of, 474.
Outline Missionary Series—*India*, 326.
Outlook, European, 441.
Paine, Robert, Life of, 159.
Pantheon, The Hindu, 683.
Source of Hindu faith, 683; what the Pantheon was, 685; Vishnu, 688; India surfeited with gods, 691.
Paradise Found, 483.
Parker: Apostolic Life, 166.
Parkman: Montcalm and Wolfe, 475.
Pattern in the Mount, The, 647.
Paul, Influence of the Apostle, in the Development of Christianity, 797.
Peck: Sermons and Talks to Fellow Pilgrims, 488.
Pedobaptism, Presbyterian, 431.
People, Harper's Young, 167.
Perfection, Christian, 802.
Peters: Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, 315.
Philosophical Theologizing, 110.
Philosophy, Hindu, Popularly Explained, 161.
Physician, The Beloved, 150.
Poets of the Church, 325.
Polity, Methodist Church, 397.
Purpose of the paper, 397; Methodist readers, 398; features and facts, 399; mistakes, 400; modifications, 401; unity, 402; little account of individualism, 403; looks to results, 403; work done is before the world, 404; grateful and hopeful, 405.
Portion, The Children's, 644.
Poor of Great Cities, 301.
Porter: Elements of Moral Science, 320.
Porter: Hints to Self-Educated Ministers, 326.
Power, Elias, of Ease-in-Zion, 647.
Praise Songs of Israel, 483.
Prayer, Lectures on the Lord's, 803.
Prentiss, Elizabeth, Life and Letters of, 325.
Prison, Christ Preaching to the Spirits in, 69.
Passage difficult, 69; latter part, 70; nineteenth verse, 71; work among the

spirits, 72; Augustine's theory, 75; subject matter of preaching, 76; later exegetes, 78; Dean Alford, 79; how explain obscure passages, 81; a confession, 82.
Problem, The Liquor, in all Ages, 161.
Prohibition Movement, 277.
Mistakes of assumed leaders, 278; two facts to be considered, 278; prohibition States, 279; prohibition party, 297.
Prophets, The Minor, 487.
Psychology, Outlines of, 327.
Pullman: Constitutional Law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 30.
Pulpit, The People's Church, 167.
Rabiger: Encyclopedia of Theology, 468.
Railroads and Civilization, 871.
Objections to railroads, 871; effects, 873; destroy sectionalism, 876; moral changes, 877; development of the system, 877; safety of travel, 881; desecration of the Sabbath, 884.
Rawlinson: Egypt and Babylon, 321.
Recollections, Some Literary, 166.
Reformation, Women of the, 643.
Religion, Reality of, 327.
Report, Fifteenth Anniversary of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, M. E. Church, 1884, 480.
Reuss: History of Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, 150.
Revelation, its Nature and Record, 470.
Review, London Quarterly: The Atonement, 571.
Reviews (and Magazines), 144, 310, 461, 629, 790, 945.
Revivals, 274.
Duty of the Church in regard to revivals, 275; revival methods, 276.
Rhetoric Made Easy, 167.
Ridgaway: Bishop Simpson, 9.
Roberts: Ante-Nicene Fathers, 483.
Rogers, Hester Ann, Life of, 481.
Russia and the Vatican, 446.
Sabbath for Man, 319.
Sabbath, The Abiding, 801.
Salvation Army, Recent Doings of, 451.
Sanctification, The Doctrine of Entire, 803.
Sands Street, Old, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., 642.
Schaff: History of the Christian Church, 478.
Schaff: Religious Encyclopædia, 316.
Schools (Public), Power of Officers and Teachers in, 488.
Science, Elements of Moral, 320.
Scripture, Obscure Characters and Lights of, 319.
Sermons, Cambridge, 328.
——and Talks to Fellow-Pilgrims, 488.
Sermons; M. Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 640.
Sermons; C. H. Spurgeon, 645.
Simpson, Bishop, 9.
Birth and death, 9; parentage, 9; proficiency in studies, 10; residences, 11; office of Bishop, 13; as a leader, 17; power as a preacher, 19; piety and honesty, 22; specimen of his eloquence, 24; at the Wesleyan Conference, 25; achievements, 26; physical advantage, 27; need be no decline in the power of the pulpit, 28.
Sin, The outcome of, 535.
Awful question, 535; second probation, 537; annihilation, 540; restoration, 545; punishment, 548.
Situation, The Political, 118.
Smiles: Men of Invention and Industry, 326.
Smith, Sydney, 234.
Everett's opinion, 234; Reid's new biography, 234; parentage, 235; birth, 235; no call to the ministry, 236; curacy, 237; helped to originate the Edinburgh Review, 238; went to London, 240; rector of Foston, 243; Canon of St. Paul's, 245; Macaulay's view of him, 246; Smith's wit, 248; Reid's sketch, 250.
Smyth: Reality of Faith, 153.
Spence: Thirty Thousand Thoughts, 485.
Statesmen, Lives of Greek, 646.
Stormonth: Dictionary of the English Language, 165.
Story, Nature's Serial, 163.
Study in Human Nature, 327.
Summers, Dr., 476.
Sunday-School Hymns and Music, 428.
Sutherland: The Outcome of Sin, 535.
Tabernacle, The Brooklyn, 326.
Tahiti, Results of French Rule in, 457.
Talmage: Brooklyn Tabernacle, 326.
Taylor: John Knox, 481.
Taylor, Henry, Autobiography of, 1800-1875, 641.
Teachers and Teaching, 158.
Teachings and Counsels, 166.
Tefft: Evolution and Christianity, 480.
Testament, Revised Old, 758.
Theology, Encyclopædia of, 468.
Theology, Pastoral, 318.
Thoburn: My Missionary Apprenticeship, 168.
Thomson, Bishop, 169.
Small and delicate in size, 169; view of Judge Nott, *et al.*, 171; stationed in Detroit, 172; power as a speaker, 172; birth, 173; immigrated and settled in Ohio, 173; various work, 174; elected Bishop, 174; purity of character, 177; beginning in the ministry, 178; merry heart, 183; magnetic, 184; decease and burial, 189.
Thomson, Bishop Edward, Life of, 805.
Thoughts, Comforting, 327.
Thoughts, Thirty Thousand, 485.
Topics, Christian, 108.
Unbelief, Recent Checks to Modern, 713, 885.
Scientific, 713; science and theology on formation of the earth, 714; spontaneous generation, 718; check to unbelief, 725; genuine book of the New Testament, 885; previously unknown MSS., 886; Tatian, 889; age of historical criticism, 895.
United States, Descriptive Atlas of the, 644.
Unity, Christian, 602.
Universalism in America, 321.
University, De Pauw, The Forty-fifth Year-Book of, 164.
Universities *versus* Colleges, 594.
Unsolved Social Problem, An, 280.
Vivian, Voyage of the, to the North Pole, 168.
Whedon, D. D., Brief Notice of, 648.
Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway, 321.
Work, Our Foreign Missionary, 140.
Year-Book, Baptist, 451.